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Facts and Notes

relating

to the

Redemptioners

and the

Early Emigration

of the

Poor to America.

Vol. VII.

214,906
Benj. P. Hunt,
Apr. 21, 1877.

Lectures on the Early History of Massachusetts.

Lectures delivered in a Course before the Lowell Institute, in Boston, by Members of the Mass. Hist. Society, on Subjects relating to the Early History of Massachusetts. Boston, 1869

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Fifth Lecture, – The Colony of New Plymouth and its Relations to Mass. By William Brigham, A.M. – Jan. 19th. 1869.

1636 8 capital offences in Plymouth Col. Afterwards in England 200.

The criminal law of Plymouth Colony was remarkably mild for that day, & was mildly administered. At the revision of 1636, there were but 8 capital offences. At that time there were 20 in Mass. & 31 in England, where they afterwards increased to upwards of 200. p. 177.

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Sixth Lecture. Slavery as it once prevailed in Massachusetts. By Emory Washburn, – delivered Jan. 22nd. 1869.

Slavery in Massa.

The facts of history seem to establish this conclusion, that slavery never was in harmony with the public sentiment of the colony. It was sustained only by force of the policy & laws of the mother country, & was abolished by the people by the very first clause in the organic law of the state. p. 194.

Slavery introduced into Eng. 1553. 1562. Hawkins.

Negro slavery, which had been introduced by Spain into her colonies in 1508, became domesticated in England in 1553 when 24 slaves were imported directly from Africa. And in 1562, the slave trade was inaugurated by Sir John Hawkins, who, for the atrocities which he committed in its prosecution, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth; & it became from that time

Dowell Lectures on the Early History of Massachusetts.

a regular & organized branch of English Commerce. p. 198.

Laws of England & colonies must agree.

The charter of Mass. itself forbade them to make any laws or ordinances "contrary or repugnant to the laws & statutes" of England..... They could prohibit neither the importation nor the sale of slaves without clashing at once with the interests & wishes of government at home.... They could only regulate the status of the children of slaves born in the colonies. pp. 198-9.

1641 - No bond slavery in Mass.

In the Mass. "Body of Liberties", adopted in 1641, it is declared, "There shall never be any Bond Slavery, Villinage, or Captivity amongst us, unless it be lawfull Captives taken in just Wars, and such strangers as willingly sell themselves, or are sold to us. ... This exempts none from servitude, who shall be judged thereto by authority. (Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. XXVIII - p. 231.) p. 201.

What is most significant in this matter is, that the children of slaves born in the colony are thereby excluded from the classes that might be subjected to bond slavery. p. 202.

1678. 3 Indian sold in Sandwich for burglary.

In regard to bond slavery, no instance has been discovered of the sale by one man of himself to another. But of sales by the way of punishment for crime, under a sentence of a court, there are several instances recorded. Thus we have one in Sandwich, in 1678, where three Indians were thus sold for having broken into a house & stolen. Being unable to make recompense to the owner, the Court authorized him to sell them. p. 205.

Indian slaves. Pequods.

In regard to Indian slavery, or the sale of captives taken in war, it was chiefly confined to the remnants of the Pequod tribe, or to such as were taken in the war with King Philip. ... A law of Massa., as early as 1712, prohibited the importation of Indian servants into the colony. p. 207.

1638. Few slaves in Boston.

It is certain that negro slavery did not come in with Winthrop's company. The first ship was here in 1638, & found Mr. Maverick the owner of negro slaves. He probably acquired them from a ship which brought some slaves from the W. I. in that year. p. 207.

1705. £4. duty on slaves.

The General Court, in 1705, imposed a duty of £4. upon every slave imported into the province, and this law was renewed in 1728. In 1767, a bill to restrain the importing of slaves passed the popular branch of the Gen. Court, but failed in the Council. Nor would it have availed, if it had passed both branches, because it would have been vetoed by the Governor, acting under instructions from the Crown. This was shown in 1771, when such a bill did pass both branches of the Gen. Court & was thus vetoed. p. 27.

1771 Law restrict ing slavery vetoed.

The Colony while it remained such, never had a newspaper; & first in presses were almost unknown. Nor was there any newspaper in the Province until the beginning of the last century. The laws were not printed till 1648, and not again till 1660. p. 211.

No newspaper in the Colony.

That the slave trade of Mass. was always of small importance

Mass. for slaves

the author quotes Mr. Felt, "that the first vessel that brought slaves to Mass., in 1638, was of only 120 tons burthen, & freighted with cotton & tobacco: so that the number of slaves was probably small." Mr. Felt the quote Co. said that, she in his opinion the slaves that there had at her company, & she had a slave, brought into the country since the beginning of the plantation, except one small vessel, which came the time of making the Indian war, that brought between 10 & 20 negroes, mostly women & children, which sold for 10 or 20 £ apiece, although they stood the merchant in near £ 40. apiece.

about 100 or 120.

Gov. Bradstreet concludes "that there may be within our government about 100, or 120". [Coll. Hist. p.28.] p.111

At the same time, 1680, the number of Scots, who had been captured by the English & sold into the colony, in 1651, was about 2/4. p.214.

Slaves sold in mass. 1754.

Dr. Belknap thinks the negro slaves were most numerous here in about 1745. Mr. Felt, upon careful consideration & calculation, concludes that number was 4489.

Slaves most numerous in 1754 than 4489.

In 1763, according to Dr. Belknap, the proportion of blacks, slaves & free, to the whites in the province, was 1 to 40. In Va. at the same time, there were 10 blacks to 8 whites, p.110.

Redemptioners.

One means of supplying labor was by some sort of contract with those who sold their service to the company, probably to pay for the cost of their transportation into the colony. Gov. Winthrop found here at his arrival 180 bond servants of the planters who were to follow, all of whom were exempted by him on account of a scarcity

of provisions in the colony, although they had cost them from £16 to £20. each. [Felt's Salem. p. 42.] p. 214.

Gov. Bradstreet says, in 1680, that of the Scots who were sold servants here in 1651, most of them had proved [illegible] to be [illegible] with that they is many Irish [illegible] at [illegible] time, became planters, as servants. They seem to have passed from servants to planters &c. p. 215.

Dr. Belknap says of the negroes, "No greater labor was exacted from them than that of white people." In the southern Knight. they lived as well as their masters & often sat at the same table." The record has yet to be found of a slave or man ever being sacked as a "free land" in Mass. "The negroes in the militia. some years after 1652, they were enrolled in the militia. p. 215.

A remark of Judge Cooley, of Michigan, in his recent work on Constitutional Limitations, applies with much force to the subject referred to.

Judge Cooley. "A power," he says, is frequently yielded to with because it is feared; and it may be exercised for a long period, in violation of the constitutional prohibition, without the Power yield ed to because mischief which the Constitution which the Constitution was claimed designed to guard against occurring, or without any number sufficiently interested in the subject to raise the question. p. 216.

At Revolution, As the country approached the crisis of the Revolution, many slave masters in many cases, voluntarily emancipated their slaves; emancipated. appeals began to be made to the Courts, by those held in

bondage, to be declared free. There were two such cases in Middlesex, between 1768 & 1770, in which were granted, and another was decided in the same way in Essex, in 1773 & other instances have occurred, p. 219.

J. Adams. We are told by John Adams, that "he never knew a jury, by a verdict to determine a negro to be a slave. They always found him free." p. 220.

Juries always set slaves free.

In 1767-83, a case was decided in the County of Worcester, in favor of a black man, named Jack Walker. Judge Sullivan, in a letter to Dr. Belknap, in 1795, stated that "this decision put an end to the slavery of slaves in this State." And the venerable Samuel Cooper, "wrote upon account of this case with this pious exclamation: 'This sold slavery in Massachusetts'." p. 224.

1783 End of slavery in Mass.

Eighth Lecture. - The Medical Profession in Massachusetts. By O. W. Holmes. Jan. 29th, 1869.

Savage's Genealogical Dictionary. The author on p. 262, refers to "Mr. Savage's valuable Genealogical Dictionary of the first settlers who came over before 1692."

Cotton Mather small pox. Cotton Mather says in his Appendix to "Variolae Triumphatae", that he got his first knowledge of the use of small pox, by inoculation, by from a "Garamantee" servant of his own. p. 277.

Garamantee servant.

Lecture Vi. Education in Massachusetts; Early Legislation & History, by Geo. W. Curtis, LL.D., delivered Feb. 16th, 1847.

1636 Founding of Harvard College.

At a Court holden Sept. 8th. 1636, it was agreed to give £400 towards a school or college, £200. to be paid next year & £200 when the work was finished. In 1637 the College was ordered to be at Newtown. £400. would then be equal to $2000 now. Considering that money was then one of the good things in the world, we may well conclude with Dr. Dwight, "It is questionable whether a more honorable, generous, public spirit can be found in the history of mankind." p. 466 (Dwight travels in New England)

boys. train bands.

The elder boys belonged to the train bands, which under able officers, were drilled, — not over twice or thrice a week, the law provides — in the use of the musket, the sword & the pike. p. 470.

1683, Grammar Schools.

In 1683, Oct. 10th, we read, "The Court doth order that whenever a town has 500 families, it shall support 2 grammar schools & a writing school." A grammar school was then understood to be a school in which the Latin & Greek languages were taught. p. 475.

In order that children might be trained to useful occupations, the following law was passed June 14th, 1672,

"This Court, do hereby order & decree, that in every town the chosen men appointed for managing the prudential affairs of the same shall have power to take account, from time, of all parents & masters, w.r of their children

[illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] their children, especially of their ability to read & understand the principles of religion & the capital laws of this country, we, & they shall have power, with consent of the [illegible] court or magistrate, to put forth apprentices the children of such as they shall find not to be able & fit to employ & bring them up. . . . & for their better performance of this trust committed to them, they may divide the town amongst them, appointing to every one of the said townsmen a certain number of families to have special oversight of. . . pp. 475 6.

Children to be apprenticed.

[illegible] the business [illegible] the principal cause of disorder were found to be due to ignorance & want of skilled training in the business undertaken, 476

A standard was provided below which the qualifications of a teacher in the grammar schools shall not fall. "He shall be able to instruct youth as far as they shall be fitted for the university." And this law continued in operation, with from nearly every town in the Commonwealth would now be enjoying this privilege. . . p. 478.

Qualifications of a grammar school teacher,

The civil, and especially the spiritual, leaders of the great migrations to Massa, were the most highly educated men that ever led colonies. . . p. 479. Of the ministers of the 16 or 18 towns in Massa, the greater part had been educated at Oxford & Cambridge. 479. Archbishop Laud silenced only the distinguished preachers, & they came to Mass. But not alone, their parish

Early ministers, great educators

coiners & friends, who loved them best, and most highly valued liberty of conscience, came with them, & many brought their libraries with them, p. 480.

Legislators " religious,

None were chosen to the Legislature but religious men... "Few which of this United States in the best and most [illegible] have any such [illegible]: [illegible] which towns, either the [illegible] of any [illegible] have [illegible] men of spotless character, the best, wisest, & most trustworthy to be found, been sent, from Massa. p. 482.

1635 " selectmen.

In 1635, Mr. Frothingham tells us of an "order made by the inhabitants of Charlestown, at a full meeting, for the government of the town by selectmen". p. 483. "From the beginning, the practice seems to have prevailed of transacting the business of the several towns, at meetings of all the freemen. p. 482.

Dame school mas tress banished. " wifes pew

The Schoolmaster was an important person in those early days. [illegible] were determined. [illegible] in 1647. [illegible] at Cambridge, England, & was [illegible] a large [illegible]. [illegible] Cyrus Eldridge graduate, was a magistrate & [illegible], & continued to be a teacher from 1682 to 1698.

To secure proper respect to the School master, his wife was to be accommodated with a pew next the wives of the magistrates, p. 484.

In 1643, 48 of the inhabitants of Weymouth determined to plant a colony in Seaconk, which they named Rehoboth, & the fifth on the list was the school master.

Lectures on the Early History of Massachusetts.

It is to be regretted, as Mr. Barnard says, that the only practice of allowing a house, for the occupancy of the master, with a few acres of land for a garden, orchard & the feeding of a cow, adopted from the Old World, had not been the one continued in all the small towns. By this means, the lamentable decay of the schools throughout nearly all the smaller towns might have been prevented. p. 485.

house & land in lieu of fixed salary discontinued.

1780. The common schools & the town grammar schools continued to decline. Most of the boys were fitted for college by ministers, among whom I have the sad possible pleasure of knowing, that the practice of teaching the Latin, as a spoken language, very generally prevailed as late as 100 years ago. p. 487.

1780 Schools continued to decline.

In 1834, there were more than 950 private schools & academies the greater number of them very poor schools, as were also most of the town schools, & the common schools notoriously so.

1834 Schools of all kinds poor.

By an act of Feb. 1834, the law of 1789 was repealed, & in all towns of less than 500 inhabitants, instead of a master of "good morals, well instructed in the Latin, Greek & Eng. languages," a teacher, or teachers, must be provided, well qualified to instruct youth in orthography, reading, writing, arithmetic, Eng. grammar & geography & in good behavior." p. 487.

Law of 1789 repealed.

Standard of teachers lowered.

This was the second blow the common school system

low ever reached, at any time, it stood for the first time, if not a few years the fifth which had among ten pu-
to the highest rate of education, but brought it back among a
good standard for the preparation of teachers, a substitute
no other in the stead. p. 483.

1836 Teachers' Institute organized.

In 1836, a meeting of teachers took place in Boston, which led to the formation of the Am. Institute of Instruction, intended for the mutual benefit of school teachers. It was incorporated in 1851. p. 488.

Cotton Mather, father of Increase, was the first in this, so far as I know, to suggest the importance of an institution for the education of teachers, when he led in 1708, in the Massachusetts Magazine.

It was not till April 14th,

1839 Normal Schools.

On the 14th of Jan. 1839, that the Mass. House of Representatives passed an act for the better education of teachers of the public schools. By the act, the Governor, Lt. Gov., & three persons were constituted a Board of Education. Horace Mann was its first Secretary.

" Common schools at lowest point,

The common schools were probably at this time, at their lowest point of degradation. From what we can learn, they had, in most parts of the Commonwealth, been sinking to sinking, until, by this act, the Legislature showed its disposition to adopt a wise and liberal policy. p. 1

In France, in 1866, the expense of primary instruction was

"The Nation".

France & Spends 20¢ & Mass. $9.10 for each child.

$2.07 for each child; by primary instruction being meant all instruction below that of colleges. In Massa. in 1867, the sum expended for the education of each child between 5 & 15 was $9.10. If to this be added what was expended in private schools, academies &c, the amount would be over $12. for each child. p. 476.

No. of teachers in Mass. in 1867, 7,759.

The whole number of different persons employed as teachers in the public schools during the year 1866, was 7,153, of whom 1768 were males & 5,385 females; in 1867 - 7,759 teachers - 1020 males & 6,739 females - an increase of females in 11 years of 1354, & a diminution of males to the number of 748. p. 497.

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No more rebellions of bull fighters & pack cycle are an evidence of the people's misery, but the cessation of such movements is some proof that the evils were abated. Review of "The Nation" Sept. 9th. 1868, on Gardiner's "War of the Roses".

=

German peasants kiss coat skirts of officials.

If we turn to Kretschke's Leipsig oration of 1863, we may read: "When Schenkorst (Goethe's contemporary) was young, a German king had to forbid his peasants kneeling & kissing the coat skirts of the officials." One may see almost as much, even at the present day, in the rural districts of Austria.

"The Nation" Sept. 10th, 1868 Article on The Recent Goethe Celebration.

Works of John Woolman — Remarks on the Rh. Complaint, &c.

The Works of John Woolman, Late of, Journal of his Life, & Gospel Labours, &c. Late of Mount Holly, N.J. London, 1775.

Woolman, takes shop.

"

his master, & Negro servants.

Woolman was born in Northampton, Burlington Co. N.J. in 1720. Being now in the 21st year of my age, a man in much business of shop keeping & tailoring, asked me, if I would live with him to tend shop & keep books, which I agreed to do.

In a few months after I came to live, my master bought several Negroes, servants, from on board a vessel, and brought them to my house, which was taken for a school, p. 13.

No protest against white slavery.

Not even Woolman seems to have had anything to say in regard to this trade in white labor, as objectionable. I have seen nothing in any writer of the Middle States, living at the time it prevailed, betraying the least thought that there was anything wrong in it. On the other hand, foreign writers generally spoke of it as white slavery, and many travellers in the Middle States towards the end of the last century & the beginning of the present spoke of the system as a disgrace to the country. I suppose slavery was never more unpopular in this country than it was in South Carolina in 1750. Yet the planters there appealed to the Quakers & Pietists there, for continuing to hold slaves, maybe thus giving a counter reproach in style. The following is taken from the Gazette of Charleston, Sat. 1750.

1785.

L'Abolition de l'esclavage.-

Port-au-Prince, gazette du 19 février 1785.

On comptait à Philadelphie dans le mois de novembre, 15,000 emigrants d'Europe, qui y avaient débarqué pendant le courant de l'année, et la plupart étaient des ouvriers utiles. Le capitaine d'un bâtiment espagnol a payé 10,000 livres sterling, prittes de toute dépense, en trois voyages qu'il a faits pour transporter des emigrants qui, pour payer leur passage, ont été vendus les uns pour trois ans et d'autres pour quatre à compter du jour de leur débarquement. On observera que c'est dans la Pensylvanie que ce commerce odieux a le plus de cours et que c'est ce même pays que l'on exalte pour avoir donné la liberté aux esclaves nègres, et que les même habitants, quelque temps après, achetent et vendent des hommes qui pourraient être considérés encore comme leur compatriotes. Car, enfin, il est très certain que tel Americain qui a acheté un emigrant ou une emigrante peut en faire tout ce que bon lui semble, pendant le temps de son engagement; et une jeune nous disait, il y a quelques jours, avoir acheté une jeune Irlandaise 6 guinées, qu'il a vendue pour 27 bouteilles d'eau des Barbades. Cette même Irlandaise est maintenant au Cap. On répondra, sans doute, que l'emigration est utile, qu'elle augmente la population et que cette espèce d'esclavage à laquelle les emigrants sont condamnés n'est que momentanée,

Recount was at Philadelphia, Phila.

Journal of Madame Knight, from Boston to New York - 1704.

Tout cela est vrai; mais ne serait il pas plus humain de la part des Américains et plus honorable pour eux de faire une loi qui obligerait l'établissement d'un fonds public, pour payer le passage des emigrants, qui seraient obligés à commencer dans un temps fixe ce que leur passage aurait coûté,....

Memoires d'une Créole du Port au Prince, par Mme. Ve. Ravinet. 2nd. E. Paris. 1858. p. 226-7.

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The journal kept by Madame Knight, on a journey from Boston to New York in the Year 1704. From the Original Manuscript. New York. 1825.

Account of slaves in Connecticut

Arrived at New Haven, the mother writes, the people generally lived very well & comfortably on their farms. But be indulgent (especially on farmers) to their slaves; superseding too great familiarity from them, permitting you to sit at table and eat with them, (as they say to save time) and only the dish pass the black boy as freely as the white hand. They told me that there was a farmer lived near the town where I lodged, who had some difference with his slave, concerning something the master had promised him and did not punctually perform; which caused some hard words between them; but at length they put the matter to arbitration, & bound themselves to stand to the award of such as they named; wch done, the Arbitrators having heard the Allegations of both parties, Order the master to pay 10^s to black face, and acknowledge his fault. And so the mat-

Anecdote.

ter ended: the poor master very honestly standing to the award; p. 40.

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English Colonization of America during the 17th Century. By Edward D. Neill, U.S. Consul at Dublin. London, 1871.

Preface, p. 4. The pages of the London Company's transactions & the folios of Purchas show that Rolfe was a married man, before his union with Pocahontas and that after her death there was a white widow & her children besides the son he had by Pocahontas.... Lord Baltimore in a letter to the Earl of Strafford states that the colonists of Maryland were chiefly poor laboring men & there is reason to believe they were mostly Protestants. Preface p. IV–VI.

Rolfe, a bigamist,

During the year 1609, publications urging persons to emigrate to Virginia appeared, "Nova Britania, Offering most Sweet Smelling Commodities to Virginia &c." On the 25th of April, 1609, Wm. Symonds, preacher of St. Saviour's in Southwark, delivered at White Chapel, a sermon before the most noble & worthy adventurers of the Standard of Christ among the Gentiles, the adventurers of the Plantation of Virginia. Under one of its heads is a statement of the severance of the husbandman from the soil, & description of the condition of the laboring man, as graphic as any in the language. His words were,

Symonds' Sermon.

laboring man described.

"Look seriously into the land, and see whether there be not just cause, if not a necessity, to seek abroad. The people, blessed be God, do swarm in the land, as young bees in a hive in June; insomuch that there is very hardly room for one man to live by another. The mischief, like old King bees, thrust the weaker, as drones, out of their hives. Lords of manors convert townships, in which were one or two hundred communicants, to a shepherd and his dog. The true husbandman that ploweth the prince by the fees, who was wont to feed many poor, is set many people on work, and pay twice as much subsidy & fifteens to the King, for his proportion of castle, as his landlord did for ten times as much; that was wont to furnish the church with saints, the market with able persons to fight, is now in many places turned labourer, and can hardly escape the statutes of rogues & vagrants ... pp. 28-9.

townships turned to a shepherd & his dog.

labouring men

The poor metal man worketh his bones out, and sweateth himself in the fire, yet for all his labour, having charge of wife & children, he can hardly keep himself from the alms box ...

poverty

The thoughtful poor woman, that hath her small children standing at her knee and hanging on her breast, she worketh with her needle and laboureth with her spinner, her candle goeth out by night, she is often deluding the bitterness of her life with sweet songs, that she singeth to a heavy heart ... and when yet the cloth is sold, she can hardly earn salt for her water gruel & get on up on the Sunday". pp. 30-31.

labouring women

In a communication to the Company, dated July 7, 1610, Delaware says:

"Nor would I have it conceived that we would exclude altogether gentlemen, and such whose breeding never knew what a days labour meant, for even to such this country I doubt not but will give likewise excellent satisfaction, especially to the better & elayed spirits, for he amongst us that cannot dig, use the square, nor practise the axe & chisel, yet he shall find how to employ the force of knowledge, the exercise of counsel, and the operation & power of his best breeding & quality."

gentlemen for he not excluded.

In accordance with the suggestion in Crashaw's Sermons (delivered in London, Feb. 21-1609-10,) Delaware immediately established an intolerant code for the repression of vice & sustentation of true religion, which was enlarged by Deputy Governors Gates & Dale, & published in 1612. This code prescribed death for blaspheming of the Trinity or the King; and also upon being convicted for the third time of profane swearing. For a want of proper respect to a clergyman, one was publickly whipped, and obliged to ask pardon in church for three successive Sundays. The penalty for not attending church and the Sunday catechical lesson was, for the first offence, the loss of a week's provisions, for the second whipping, and for the third death. If a colonist upon arrival, refused to go to the clergyman to give an account of his faith, he was to be daily whipped until he complied.... pp. 48-9.

Crashaw's Sermon.

Delaware's Code

Death for blaspheming the Trinity.

3rd offence from Church, death.

William Crashaw's Sermon, or extracts from it, are found at pp. 35-41 in Neill's English Colonization of America.

Spirit of the age.

Although we now shudder at these enactments, they were in accordance with the spirit of the age. pp. 19-20.

Before Argall absconded from Virginia, he had sent out the "Ship Treasurer," under Captain Elliot, manned with a picked crew, to rove in the Spanish West Indies; and after Yeardley had become Governor, in the year 1619, it returned to Virginia with a certain number of negroes, the first African slaves that arrived in the waters of the Chesapeake. Learning that Argall had been displaced, the Capt. of the "Treasurer" sailed for Bermudas. In Oct. of

First negro slaves of Va.

this year, the Governor of this island took from a Mr. Kendall 14 negroes, which he said belonged to the Ship "Treasurer", but which Kendall alleged he had obtained from a Holland vessel commissioned by the Prince of Orange.

To these transactions Rolfe, as quoted by Smith, probably referred when he said, "About the last of August came in a Dutch man-of-war that sold us 20 negars."

Note, For 5 years the number of negroes in Virginia, did not exceed 21. On Feb. 24, 1624, these were reported at,

In 1624 - 21 slaves in Va.

Henry Citie Hundred.	11.
James City	8
James Island	1
Plantation opposite.	1
Warrasquoyacke	1
Elizabeth City	1
	21.

In 1757, the blacks numbered 58,292 - whites 414,214.
In 1860. " " " 560,000 - " 1,300,000.

pp. 66-7.

Caunega, the Spanish ambassador at London, on 5th September, 1612, writes: Although some suppose the plantation to decrease, he is credibly informed that there is a determination to marry some of the people that go out, to Virginians; and it is already so married, and English women intermingle and are received kindly by the natives. A zealous minister hath been wounded for reprehending it. p. 70.

English to marry native Virginians.

On Apr. 18th, 1622, a sermon was delivered in Bow-Church London, by Patrick Copland, before the Virginia Company, in it he says, congratulating them of the safe arrival in Va. of a fleet of 7 vessels, lately sent, "In your former voyages, scarce 80 of a 100 arrived safely in Va." p. 148.

Copland's sermon. 1622

80 of 100 vessels lost.

Note on p. 155 - The ships "Warwick" & "Tiger" left the Thames about the middle of Sept. 1621 - and carried maids & young women for wives. A ms. letter from the London Company says:

By this ship [Warwick] & pinnace called the 'Tiger' we also send as many maids & young women as will make up the number of 50, with those 12 formerly sent in the 'Marmaduke' which with those we hope shall be received with the same Christian pity & charity as they were sent from thence. The adventurers for the charges disbursed in setting them forth, which comming to 12 pounds, they require 150 pounds of the best leaf tobacco for each of them. Their own good deserts,

Maids & young women sent, & passage 150 pounds of tobacco.

rather with your favour, I see cause, we hope, may turn all unto honest and sufficient men." pp. 155 6.

In the same discourse, Copland says, "Our Country abounded with people; you bring wealth them. In England all know that there is nothing more dangerous for the state of commonwealth than when the people do increase abundantly to a greater number and multitude than may justly parallel with the largeness of the place & country in which they live. p. 157.

"I have here good occasion offered to me, to bless God for the prudence & providence of this honorable Lord Maior, and the right worshipfull the aldermen, his brethren; who, seeing this Citie to be mightily increased, and fearing lest the overflowing multitude & people of inhabitants should, like too much blood, infect the population whole Citie with plague & pestilence, have therefore been, to be sent in their great wisdome, a remedy for this malady to take vent, the transporting of their overflowing multitude into Virginia ... and now likewise the right honorable, the present Maior & worshipfull the aldermen, his brethren, intend to continue this course, that they may ease the Citie of a many that are ready to starve, and do starve daily in our streets ... [Copland's Sermon] p. 158.

Poor starving out.

Note. - In June, 1621, the company wrote to the authorities in these words, relative to homeless boys & girls of London. "To the Rt. Hon. Sir Wm. Cockaine, knight, lord

mayor of London, &c. &c.

The treasurer, council & company of Va. assembled in their great & general court the 17th of Nov. 1619, have taken into consideration the great forwardness of this city, in advancing the plantation of Va, & particularly in furnishing out 100 children, this last year, which by the goodness of God have safely arrived, (save such as died by the way) and forasmuch as we find that the sending of these children to be apprenticed hath been very grateful to the people, we pray you earnestly to renew the like course & furnish us again with 100 more for the next spring.

100 children sent to Va.

more desired.

Our desire is that we may have them of 12 yrs old & upward, with allowance of £3. a piece for their transportation, and £6 apiece for their apparel, as was formerly granted. They shall be apprenticed; the boys till they come to be 24 yrs of age; the girls till like age, & till they be married, and afterwards they shall be placed as tenants upon the public lands, with best conditions, where they shall have houses with stocks of corn & cattle to begin with, and afterwards the moiety of all increase & profit whatsoever."

shall be apprenticed.

The following letter of Sir Edwin Sandys, to one of the King's secretaries, Sir Robert Naunton, shows that the children were not always willing to return.

Had runaway, willing.

"The city of London have provided 100 children from the superfluous multitude to be transported to Virginia, there to be bound apprentices upon very beneficial conditions. They have also granted £500. for their passage, & outfit. Some of the ill disposed children, who under

severe masters in Va., may be brought to goodness, and of whom the city is specially desirous to be disburdened, declare their unwillingness &c. The city wanting authority to deliver, and the Va. company to transport these children against their will, desire higher authority to get over the difficulty. (Cal. State Papers. Colonial Series)

Another paper will throw some light on the abuses in this business:

Sir Edward Hext, justice of the Peace of Somersetshire, to the Privy Council:

Owen Evans press'd maidens - "Upon complaint that Owen Evans, messenger of the Chamber, had a pretended commission to press maidens to be sent to Va. & the Bermudas, and received money thereby, he issued a warrant for his examination. Evans makes proceedings and such terror to the poor maidens that 40 have fled from no parish to obscure places, and their parents do not know what has become of them".

40 maids flee from one parish.

Note, on pp. 158-9-60.

In 1661 a pamphlet was written by a clergyman who had lived in Va. & dedicated to the Bishop of London, in which he states that schools there were so few that "there was a very numerous generation of Christian children born in Va., unfeasible for any employment of Church & State," and also adds that the members of the House of Burgesses were "usually such as went over servants thither; and though by time & industry they may have attained considerable estates, yet, by reason of their poor & mean condition, are unskilful in judging of a good estate either of Church or

Members of House of Burgesses had been servants.

commonwealth, or of the means of procuring it." pp. 172-3.

night-walk ignominy to Va.

Note. Records show that Edinburg used to banish the night-walking women to Va.

[2] As the descendants of these people increased in wealth, they grew ashamed of their fathers, and became manufacturers, not of useful wares, but of spurious pedigrees. A letter written by a native of Va, a century ago, alludes to the assumptions of the plantation planters of Va. & Ga. in these words:-

Va. & Ga. pride of pedigree.

It really seems to me, much as I have heard in Va. upon the subject of old families, that of all vanity it is the most extravagant. To such an extent is this upstart feeling carried in Ga, that the favorite study is genealogy & heraldry, &c. &c. p. 173

The day that Sir Edwin Sandys was elected Governor of the Va. Company, April 28th, 1617, the members were informed that Sir Robert had sent a letter notifying that the King had sent a man suspected of Deer stealing or transportation to Va. The following November the King also sent a letter informing them that the he wished three dissolute persons transported, and it was agreed by the Company that, Sir Edwin Sandys should inform Sec'y Calvert that it would be very acceptable to the colonists to receive them as servants. p. 201-2.

Deer stealers sent to Va.

Educated men were fewer in these colonies (Md. & Va.) than in the northern, and were generally lovers of pleas-

ure and scoffers at religion. Anderson, the accurate historian of the Colonial Church, remarks:

Planters of dissolute habits.

"Wealthy planters became notorious for their indulgence of dissolute habits, and passed most of their time in drinking and card playing, at horse races, and cock fights. Their slaves, and servants, and other classes of the population, were not slow to copy." p. 342.

King William's School 1696.

Nicholson, Gov. of Md., &c., in order that a perpetual succession of Protestant divines of the Church of England might be provided, caused a law to be passed, in 1696, for erecting a school in each county; and one was commenced at Annapolis, to the building of which the Governor gave £50 sterling, the Upper House of Assembly, one hundred pounds of tobacco, the Council 1500, & the House of Burgesses 2000 pounds of the same staple. It was called King William School, &c. p. 57.

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A Short History of the English People. By J. R. Green, M. A. — London. 1875.

1377–1381. The manorial system, on which the social organization of every rural part of England rested, had divided the land, for the purposes of cultivation & of internal order, into a number of large estates; in each of which about ¼ of the soil was usually retained by the owner of the manor in his demesne, or home farm, while the remainder was distributed, at the period we

manorial system.

have reached, among tenants who were bound to render service to their lord. We know hardly anything of the gradual process by which these tenants had arisen out of the slave class who tilled the lands of the first English settlers. The slave, indeed, still remained, though the no. of pure "serfs" bore a small proportion to the other cultivators of the soil. He was, still, in the strictest sense, his lord's property; he was bound to the soil, he paid head-money for licence to remove from the estate in search of trade or hire, and a refusal to return on the recall by his owner would have ended in his pursuit as a fugitive outlaw. Yet even this class had now acquired definite rights of its own; and although we still get instances of the sale of serfs "with their litter", or family, apart from the land they tilled, yet, in the bulk of cases, the amount of service due from the serf had become limited by custom, and, on its due rendering, his holding was practically as secure as that of the peasant tenant on the estate.... Not only had the possession of each man's little hut with the plot around it, and the privilege of turning out a few cattle on the waste of the manor, passed from mere indulgences granted or withdrawn at a lord's caprice into rights which could be pleaded at law, but the class, as a whole, were no longer "in the power of the lord"....

villein, or

villein, cottars, bordars.

The villein, or free tenant, for instance, was only bound to gather in his lord's harvest or to aid in the ploughing or sowing of Autumn or Lent, while the cottar, the bordar, and the labourer were bound

villein tenant.

Privileges become rights.

to aid in the work of the home farm throughout the year. The cultivation, indeed, of the home-farm, the demesne, as it was then called, was wholly with the tenants; it was by them that the great granary of the Lord was filled with sheaves, his sheep sheared, the wood hewn for his hall fire. The rent of these services rested wholly on tradition, but the number of teams, the days, the ploughs, the heriots which the lord used to claim was, at this time, generally entered on the court roll of the manor, a copy of which became the title deed of the tenants, who hereupon received from them the name of copy holders, by which they became known at a later period.

The first disturbance of the system of tenure which we have described sprang from the introduction of taxes, for thus we find the manor of Denton taxed by the chapter of St. Paul's at a very early period, on a roll which comprised the payment of grain both for bread & ale, of fowl to be distributed at the altar at Easter, of wood to be used in the table house and money and of money to be spent in wages.

It is to this system of taxes, or rather to the money form for the rent it entailed, (farm, from the Latin firma,) that we owe the words "farm" & "farmer", the growing use of which from the 12th century marks the first step in the social revolution which we are describing. The earliest step, however, in the modification of the manorial system, by the rise of the farmer class, was followed by one of a far more serious character in the rise of the free labourer. Labour, whatever right it might have attained in other ways, was as yet, in the strictest sense, bound to the soil. Neither villein nor serf had any choice, either of a master or of a

Origin of the term farmer.

sphere of toil. – The tenant was born, in fact, to his holding and to his lord. But the alliance of service, & the natural increase of population had for a long time been silently freeing the labourer from this local bondage. The influence of the Church had been exerted in promoting emancipation, as a work of piety, on its own estates but its own. The fugitive bondsmen found freedom in a flight to chartered towns, where a residence of a year & a day conferred franchise.....

Under the Edwards ... the luxury of the time, the splendor & pomp of chivalry, the cost of the incessant campaigns, drained the purses of knight & baron, and the sale of freedom to the serf or exemption from services to the villein afforded an easy & tempting mode of refilling them: commissioners were sent to the estates of Edw. the First for the especial purpose of selling manumissions to the King's serfs, and we still possess the names of those who were enfranchised with their families by a payment of hard cash in aid of the exhausted exchequer...

Church freed all serfs on its own.

Villeins at free to buying themselves.

The impulse towards a wider liberty given by the extension of the process of social change was soon seen in the appearance for the first time in our history of a spirit of social revolt. ... The copyholder was struggling to become a free holder, and the former (perhaps) to be recognized as proprietor of the demesne which he held on lease. It was while this struggle was growing in intensity that a yet more formidable difficulty met the lords who had been driven by the enfranchisement of their serfs to rely on hired labour. Everything depended on the

First social revolt in England.

abundant supply of free labourers, and this abundance suddenly disappeared. The most terrible plague the world ever witnessed advanced at this juncture from the East, & after devastating Europe from the Mediterranean to the Baltic, swept at the close of 1348 upon Britain.... Of the 3 or 4 millions who then formed the population of England, more than one half were swept away in its repeated visitations.... For the time cultivation became impossible for want of labourers.... Even when the first burst of pestilence was over, the sudden rise of wages consequent on the enormous diminution in the supply of free labour, though accompanied by a corresponding rise in the price of food, widely disturbed the course of industrial employments; harvests rotted on the ground & fields were left untilled, not merely from the scarcity of hands, but from the strife which now for the first time revealed itself between Capital & Labour. The "landless men" wandered about in search of work, & for the first time were masters of the labour market, & the wandering labourer or artisan turned easily into the "sturdy beggar" or the bandit of the woods. A summary redress for these evils was found by the Parliament & the Crown in a royal ordinance which was subsequently embodied in the Statute of Labourers. "Every man or woman" runs this famous Act, of whatsoever condition, free or bond, able in body, & within the age of threescore years, and not having of his own whereof he may live, nor land of his own about the tillage of which he may occupy himself and not serving any other, shall be bound to serve the employer who shall require him to do so, and shall take only the wages which were accustomed to be taken in the neighbourhood before the plague.

The Black Death 1348

Supply of free labor raises wages.

"sturdy beggars"

Bound to serve for the same wage

"to be found work" two years before the plague began. A refusal to obey was punished by imprisonment. Stricter measures were soon found to be necessary. Not only was the price of labour fixed by the Parliament of 1350, but the labouring class was once more tied to the soil.... So ineffectual were the original penalties that the runaway labourer was at last ordered to be branded with a hot iron on the forehead, while the bondsman of serfs in towns was rigorously put down.... To enforce the above law was impossible, for corn had risen so high that a day's labor at old wages would not purchase enough for a day's support, but the landlords attempted to enforce it, and other penalties being ineffectual, the runaway labourer was at last branded with a hot iron on the forehead. The process of emancipation was also suddenly checked and manumissions already obtained were cancelled on grounds of informality, thus bringing back the villein or the serf to a bondage from which they had been freed. Further, their cases were tried in the manor court and were decided by an officer whose interest it was to give judgment against them, and in favor of his lord. This provoked a spirit of resistance. In the country the free labourers joined alike in the claims whose freedom was questioned, and fugitive serfs were supported by organized resistance and by money on the part of the wealthier country. The poor priest John Ball, found a voice in John Ball, a mad priest of

1350, we find

Insurrection

Kent (Froissart), who preached to them in the Rochester Church yards, & in whom, England first listened to the knell of Feudalism & the declaration of the rights of man. "Good People", he cried, "by what right are they whom we call Lords greater folk than we? If we all came from the same father & mother, of Adam & Eve, how can they prove that they are better, if I be not that they make us pay for them, by our toil, what they spend in their pride? They are called lords and we grys. They have wine & fair bread; we water, oat cake & bran, and yet it is of us & our toil, that they hold their state." This levelling doctrine was condensed in a popular rhyme, "When Adam delved & Eve span, who was then the gentleman?"

At length in 1377, Edward the Third died; & was succeeded by his grandson, Richard the Second. Parliament still strove to reduce the labourer into a serfage. Meanwhile, defeat in France, and by the Spaniards at sea & caused discord at home. To defray the cost of these disastrous wars a fresh subsidy was granted to be raised by a universal poll-tax. The poor contributed as much as the rich, and this injustice set England on fire from sea to sea. Its lower gathered crowds of peasants together, armed with clubs and cudgels, & then called them to arms. Canterbury threw open its gates, the mob dragged John Ball from prison, while twice Kentish men gathered round Wat Tyler as the head of the insurrection. Dreamy rhymes served as watchwords to

that by tax insurrection.

all which soon extended over all England south of the Thames, "John Ball greeteth ye all, now
Mem. right & might, will & skill, God speed every dele, now reigneth pride in price & covetise is counted wise, and lechery without lesing & glutonye without blame. Hele right & with might, wit will & with skile, let might help right & skill go before will & right before might, so seith on man aright, &c." In the rude couplets of these rhymes, began for England the literature of political controversy. The revolt spread like wildfire over the country, but its strength lay in the Kentish men. Every lawyer met was put to death that the land might enjoy its old freedom. The manor courts were ransacked & their records burnt. The nobles were paralysed with fear, but the young King, a boy of 16, addressed them. He rode westward to London, and burnt the new Inn at the Temple, & the houses of the foreign merchants, but they boasted that they were lackers of justice and not thieves, & a plunderer, carrying off a silver vessel, was flung into the flames. Archbishop Sudbury was beheaded for hindering the King from conferring with the peasants, as was also the treasurer of the hated poll tax. The King had a conference with the mob without the city. "I am your King, good people, what will ye?" said he. "We will," said they, "that you free us & our lands forever.

and that we be never named nor held for serfs." "I grant it" replied Richard; and a shout of acknowledgment the promise. Sixty clerks were at once employed in writing letters of pardon & emancipation and with these the insurgents quietly dispersed. 30,000 still remained, however, with Wat Tyler. This body, Richard, by chance, encountered the next morning. Wat passed between his train & Tyler, a scuffle ensued & Sir Ralph, the mayor, struck Tyler to the ground. "Kill, kill," cried the crowd, "they have killed our captain." "What need ye?" cried the boy king, "am your captain, follow me." And they followed him with touching loyalty to the Tower. The nobles gathered round the king, eager for blood, but Richard contented himself with issuing letters of pardon & dismissing the peasants home. But the revolt was not at an end. 20,000 men forced the gates of St. Edmundsbury & wrested from the trembling monks a charter of enfranchisement for the town. Tyler at Norwich, as King of the Commons compelled nobles to serve him on their knees at dinner, but the death of Wat Tyler deprived the peasants of all concert. The bishop of Norwich scattered them in his own diocese, while the king with 40,000 men marched in triumph through Kent & Essex, executing many. But the people rose in town elsewhere & demanded of the King the same liberties as their lords. In his repeal they fought two hard fights before they were reduced. It was by threats of death that verdicts of guilty could be wrung

from Essex jurors when the leaders were tried. They were finally subdued. There was no spirit of compromise on the part of the bondsmen. The King's grant & letters, the Parliament answered with perfect truth, were hastily cast to rid; their days were their goods, and the King could not take their goods from them but by their own consent. "And this consent", they ended, "we have never given & never will give, were we all to die in one day." pp. 257–269.

Condemned to triumph.

N.B. 447 Description of English slave & slavery. p. 50. As each
(O.) used the prisoner taken in battle from the doom of slavery
the number of the conquered were swelled by debt & crime.
Famine drove men to bend their heads in the evil day
for meat; the debtor unable to discharge his debt flung on
the ground the freeman's sword & spear, took up the labor-
er's mattock, and placed his head as a slave within a
master's hands. Sometimes a father, reduced in cost,
sold a children & with gate in days. His children
were bondsmen like himself; even the freeman's children
by a slave-mother inherited the mother's taint.

English Slavery.

Proverb "Mine is the calf that is born of my cow", ran the
English proverb. p. 13.

Mine is the calf &c.

Towns, In England the town was originally, in every case
save that of London, a mere bit of land within the
lordship, whether of the king or some great noble or
ecclesiastic, whose inhabitants happened, either for pur-
poses of trade or protection, to cluster together more closely than

elsewhere, for 1/3 in the justice's court of the borough at Hilly in the masters hands; he appointed its bailiffs, received the fines and forfeitures of his tenants, and the fees & tolls of their markets & fairs. But even once these dues were paid and these services rendered the English townsman was practically free. 188.

Rights secured by custom from the first were constantly widening as time went on. Whenever we get a glimpse of the inner history of an English town, we find the same peaceful revolution in progress, issues disappearing, through disuse or omission, while privileges and immunities are being purchased for hard cash. 188.

Issues & fees & tolls.

The successors tendancy to unite in such 'Frith-gilds', or Peace clubs became general throughout Europe during the 9th & 10th centuries, but on the Continent it was roughly repressed. The successors of Charles the Great enacted penalties of scourging, nose slitting, and banishment against 'voluntary unions', and even a league of the poor peasants of Laon against the inroads of the Northmen was suppressed by the swords of the Frankish nobles.

9th & 10th centuries.

Gilds.

In the frith gild, an oath of mutual fidelity among its members, was substituted for the tie of blood, their the gild-guest, or feast, held once a month in the common hall, replaced the gathering of the kinsfolk round their family hearth. 190.

gild feast.

As the increasing security of the country invited the farmer or the peasant to settle apart in his own fields, the growth of state & trade fell on the towns. Here

selves, the difference between town & country became more sharply defined. p. 191.

Social tyranny of class over class brought a century of bloodshed to the cities of Germany; but in England the tyranny of class over class had been restrained by the general tenor of the law, and the revolution took for the most part a milder form. 193.

Jack Cade's Rebellion, 1450.

Jack Cade's Rebellion, 1450.

An army of 20,000 men, with John Cade, a soldier of the French wars, at their head, marched in Whitsun week on Black heath. The "Complaint of the Commons of Kent" which they laid before the Royal Council is of enormous value in the light which it throws on the condition of the people. Not one of its demands touches on religious reform. The question of villainage & serfage, which had roused Kent to its desperate rising in 1381, finds no place in its "Complaint" of 1450. "The Complaint" calls for administrative and economical reforms, for a change of ministry, a more careful expenditure of the royal revenue, and, as we have seen, for the restoration of freedom of election, which had been broken in upon by the interference, both of the Crown & the great landowners. After a victory of the Kentish men over the Royal forces at Sevenoaks, & the execution of Lord Say, the most unpopular of the Royal Ministers, the "Complaint" was received, & pardons granted to all who had joined in the rising, but Cade was pursued & slain as he fled into Sussex.

p. 216.

Green's "Short History of the English People".

Elizabeth and the Poor Laws.

Elizabeth and the Poor Laws.

Elizabeth had hardly mounted the throne, when she faced the problem of social disorder. Since the natural development of new branches of industry, were partly working for the relief of the glutted labor-market: ... It was on the head of "broken men" that some position could be fixed, & on peasants, their presence was felt in the insecurity of life & property, in gangs of marauders which held whole counties in terror, and in "sturdy beggars" who stopped travellers on the road. ... The magistrates of Lincolnshire captured a gang of 100 of these men, at a stroke, hanging 50 at once on the gallows and pardoning the rest because they had to wait for the rope before they could enjoy the spectacle of the 50 others hanging beside them.

50 hanged at once,

A Royal commission was appointed 1562, to inquire into the whole matter, ... and a distinction was for the first time drawn between vagrants and the impotent & destitute persons who had been confounded with them, and each town & parish was held responsible for its indigent and disabled poor, as it had long been responsible for the employment of able-bodied mendicants. ... These principles were now clearly defined in a statute which marked the middle period of Elizabeth's reign, & which remained the basis of the system of pauper administration until a time within the memory of living men. ... One were under the new system produced, it was said, as much as two under the old; more hands were required to carry on this increased work, and much of the surplus labor which had been flung off the land seems to have found employment in the new conditions of the new system, and the demand for it, in fact, was so great in Elizabeth's time, very exaggerated. 333-6.

1562 Royal Commission appointed,

Elizabeth's time.

Eden's "State of the Poor in England."

The State of the Poor; or an History of the Labouring Classes in England, from the Conquest to the Present Period. By Sir Frederic Morton Eden, - 1797.

If we except the baronial proprietors of land, and their vassals, the free tenants and villeins, the rest of the nation, for a long time after this era, seem to have been reduced to a state of servitude, which, though qualified as to its effects, was uniform in its principle, that none who had unhappily been born in, or had fallen into bondage, could acquire an absolute right to any species of property. p. 7.

Servitude.

no property.

Those denominated villeins in gross were at the absolute disposal of their lords and were transferable by deed, sale, or conveyance from one owner to another. They were so numerous as to form a considerable branch of English commerce. An author, who lived in the reign of Henry the Second, informs us, that such a number of them were exported to Ireland, that the men sold at a high rate, and the women, to save the charge of maintenance, killed, and mothers destroyed their children, rather than bear them. In the reign of King William the first to the value of a shilling, or a sheep, was reckoned a cottage for a slave. That slavery was in existence, in the various accounts of the marauding expeditions of the moss troopers of Cumberland, men are often mentioned as the principal part of the booty they brought back.

"Villeins in gross"

Villeins regardant were those who were annexed to regardant manors, and bound to perform the most servile offices

Villeins regardant.

of agricultural labour, which was originally intended, little had regard to the quality or the duration. They were bought & sold, with the soil to which they belonged, ... I have made this distinction between villeins in gross and villeins regardant, as it is said to be by lawyers and historians, ... Either the villeinage classes were held in a bondage that was marked by every essential ingredient of slavery. p. 8.

1793 Russian serfs similar to the English villein.

The condition of Russian serfs in 1793 was similar to that of the English villein in the 12th & 13th centuries. In "Letters from Scandinavia" published in 1796, the author says "A Russian peasant depends on his master for everything. He cannot, it is true, be sold out of the world, without the forms of law; but, by the negative which every master possesses against the marriage of his people, he may be prevented from coming into it. p. 7.

1102 Sale of English slaves common.

In England, a law was made, in a great council held at Westminster in the year 1102, which at the same time that it evinces an improvement in civilization, clearly proves that the sale of slaves was a very common traffic. The words of the law are: "let no man be the silver, nor presume to carry on the wicked trade of selling men in market, like brute beasts, which hitherto hath been the common custom of England." p. 11.

We are told that in consequence of the exertions made by the Church, against keeping Brother Christians in bondage,

Eden's "State of the Poor in England."

Serfdom

men, and their villeins,

Abbots kept theirs.

"Moral men, by little & little, in reason of that error in their conscience, were glad to manumit their villeins; but the said Holy Fathers, with the Abbots and Priors, did not in like wise by theirs; for they had also conscience to impoverish and depopulate the Church so much, as to manumit such as were bound to their churches, or to the manors which the Church had gotten, and so kept them still, indeed such numbers were in their service, that no less than 2000 villeins belonged to some of the richest abbeys.

Villeins, in some instances, were very profitable servants to the regular clergy. In the 17th of Richard the Second, the Commons petitioned the King, for remedy against such religious bodies as caused their villeins to marry free women inheritable, in order to obtain their estates by collusion. I. - p. 10.

Rise of the middle class.

Between the Conquest and the reign of Edward the Third, there arose a middle class of men, who although they did not immediately acquire the full power of manhood, their labour as the most valuable, were yet not subjected to the imperious caprices of a master, and the unconditional services of personal bondage. Of this description were the socage tenants & mainors, who although they were permitted to occupy small portions of land for their own use, were required at stated periods of the year, to attend to the cultivation of the demesnes of their lords. p. 12.

Eden's "State of the Poor in England."

It appears from records, that before the reign of Edward the First, the condition of villeins was really miserable; and that, instead of being obliged to perform very many and severe services, that the villeins still of the land required, they villeins required, at length, acquired a tenure in lands, on condition of rendering services which were either certain in their nature, as to reap the lord's corn, or cleanse his fish pond; or limited in their duration as to harrow five days in the year, or to employ three days in carting the lord's timber. p. 13.

Edw. 3d.

villeins required to work certain days in the year

From the allowance of food usually granted during harvests, we may form a just estimate of the general diet, in those days, of the poorest part of the nation; a few fish, principally herrings, a loaf of bread and some beer, constituted the meat of the mower or the reaper. p. 15.

Diet of the poor.

In regard to the Forest Law, the Conqueror ordained for hunting, a district of 30 miles in extent in Hampshire, where land, wife, churches & villages were destroyed, & whole parishes were compelled without compensation, to turn into hunting ground their ancient abodes. p. 17.

30 miles was laid waste, churches & villages were destroyed, & whole parishes were compelled without compensation, to turn into hunting ground.

He says from the author of Tusser, that if land only yielded three times the seed sown, the farmer would be a loser, unless corn should sell dear. p. 17.

Land must yield 3 times the seed sown.

His account would have been more curious, if we had been informed what was esteemed a fair average crop: Sir John Cullum supposes it to have been 12 bushels. Tuth

so scanty a crop, the price of corn almost invariably rose as the year advanced, and was frequently at an enormous height just before harvest; and, before a fresh supply could be obtained, the stock of the preceding year was often entirely exhausted.... Between the 1st of wheat in guest and the accession of Edw. the Third, the price of wheat varied from 2d. to £6 8s the quarter. This is most incredible price occurred in 1270, and was attended with a famine. p. 18.

High price 1270 famine.

A valuation of the moveable property in the borough of Colchester made in 1296, preparatory to levying a subsidy of a seventh, for carrying on the war against France, enables us to decide, with some degree of precision, what portion of domestic ease and comfort was enjoyed by petty tradesmen and artificers at that period.... From the small proportion of fires in the town, I should infer that very few houses had chimnies, and that in this respect Colchester was very similar to what many of the houses, or rather huts in the northern kingdoms, many in Germany, and particularly in Westphalia, and not a few in Scotland, are at present. p. 22.

Few houses without chimnies in 1792.

1296- A blacksmiths tools, in the above valuation, were rated from 2s to 5s; a cobbler's stock at 10s 6d; a tanner's stock including clothing, at £7 1s 10d. This is comparatively with the others, a great sum; but it must be recollected that the trade was one of the first in ancient times; and it is remarkable, that to this day, tanners rank high among

Tanners trade.

Leather used for clothes.

citizen. Leather was not only used for various military purposes, but formed a considerable part of the common dress of the people, before the introduction, and during the infancy of the woolen manufacture. p. 23.

Diet in 1296.

In Colchester, 1296, bread, milk & beer appear to have formed the usual diet of the townsmen.

silver.

Note. £3. in Edward the Seconds reign contained nearly as much silver as £7. do at present. p. 25.

Woolen Manufacture.

1337.

Woolen manufacturers protected.

In 1337, several judicious statutes were enacted for the protection of the woolen manufacturers: by one it was made penal to export wool; by another, the use of foreign cloth was limited to the royal family; by a third, the importation of foreign cloth was prohibited; & by a fourth, cloth workers were invited into England, by promises of protection and encouragement. p. 27.

The author thinks that the woolen manufacture, by drawing the superfluous hands from the country into towns and cities, contributed more than any other cause, to meliorate the condition of the labouring classes. (p. 28.) and it was not easy to protect their persons from popular fury than their property from lawless depredation, that merchants & manufacturers formed themselves into companies under the protection of the Sovereign, and carried on their operations within the walls of a town. We are assured in several histories, that there was so total a want of police and good order in England, during the 13th & 14th centuries, that robbers formed

Police in England.

themselves into bands, under the protection of powerful barons who employed them in acts of violence and plunder, justified their conduct, and partook of the booty. p. 28.

villeins free by concealing themselves in towns a year & a day. 30.

Feudal state of per labour in 1350.

The labourers are noticed for the first time, officially, by the Legislature in 1350.... It has been justly observed that there is not a reign, among those of the ancient English monarchs, which deserves to be more studied than that of Edward the Third, nor one where the domestic transactions will better discover the true genius of that kind of mixed government which was then established in England. 31.

Servants & trades.

1796 In Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire, servants continue to attend the mopp, or statute, as it is called, (i.e. Michaelmas fair,) in order to be hired. Each person has a badge, or external mark, expressive of his or her occupation. A carter exhibits a piece of whip-cord tied to his hat; a cow-herd has a lock of cow hair in his; and the dairy maid has the same descriptive mark attached to her breast. So in the state of England at this period, having been, the servants to be hired who are almost every person to be employed in husbandry, as to be distinguished from others, they attend the mopped, by their carrying a large pair of snuffers at their breasts, which is an apt emblem of their calling. Even in London, bookbinders, and other house labourers, carry their respective implements to the places where they stand

who and in what.

cow & cow hair.

at Lee; at Stock Poise, they assemble in great numbers in Cheapside and at Charing Cross, any morning at 5 or 6 o'clock.

Knave. Knave was formerly any commonly used to signify a servant or workman's boy. p. 33.

In both Magna Charta, and the charters of Henry the third, obtained in 1225, a class of men are mentioned, who appear to have been considered in the light of movable property. The prohibition to guardians from wasting the men or cattle on the estates of minors, is a clear proof that villeins, who held by servile tenures, were looked upon in the light of horses or a rice or tobacco, or a sugar plantation. Long after 1225, they were considered as a saleable commodity, of which I shall mention only a few instances from many that may be found among our ancient historians. In 1288, a slave and his family were sold, by the Abbot of Dunstable, for 13s-4d; in 1333, a lord granted to a Chantry several messuages, together with the bodies of 8 natives (villeins regardant) dwelling there, with all their chattels and offspring: and in 1387, we meet with an instance of a gift of a wife, (or female slave) with all her family, and all that she possessed or might subsequently require; as the conveyance does not mention land, she was probably a villein in gross. p. 35.

Slave & family sold.

Of the comparative advantages of a sea, among people in the infancy of commerce, we may form some idea

Advantages of a sea-faring life.

from the petition presented to Parliament in the 11th year of Richard the Second, wherein the mariners of England complain, that their wages were reduced, about this time the annual pay of a common labourer, in husbandry, was about 5s. p. 36.

All the restrictions of the Legislature on personal industry, and the various statutes to regulate wages, dress, and apparel, seemed to have been framed with the same view; namely, to curb the aspiring sections of industry, and independency. p. 42.

Restrictions on dress.

In 1376, the Commons made great complaints, that slaves were forced to give their servants and labourers great wages, to prevent their running away; and that the encouragement which they received in these evil practices, often induced them, upon the slightest cause of disgust, to quit their masters; that they wandered thus from country to country; and that many of the runaways turned vagrants, and idle slaves, have lost by age and strength; although they had sufficient bodily strength to gain a livelihood, if they pleased to work. Others became stationary, & stud[illegible] paid [illegible] days, or quarter [illegible] and [illegible] considered as rabble [illegible] from village; and that the latter would turned out "sturdy rogues", and infested the kingdom with frequent robberies. To remedy those evils, the Commons proposed, that no relief should be given to those who were able to work, within boroughs

1376

Demand slaves have lost by age and strength; although they had sufficient bodily strength to gain a livelihood, if they pleased to work.

or in the country; that vagrant beggars and staff stakers should be imprisoned till they consented to return home to work; and that whoever harboured any runaway servant in his service, should be liable to a penalty of £10. It does not appear from the Rolls that the King assented to the above bill, but it seems to have been the ground-work of a subsequent statute; and shows us the early opinions of Parliament on the subject of mendicity. p. 12

Penalty for harboring runaways. £10.

In 1378, the Commons complained that the statutes of labourers were not attended to, but that persons employed in husbandry fled into cities, and became artificers, mariners, or clerks, to the great detriment of agriculture. ... By the first Richard the second, persons were ordered to take security of vagrants for their good behavior. In 1388, the statutes relative to artificers, labourers, servants and victuallers were confirmed; and it was further enacted, that no servant or labourer should depart from one part of the country to another, to seek or to reside elsewhere, or under pretence of going a pilgrimage, without a letter patent, specifying the cause of his departure, and the time of his return, which might be granted at the discretion of a justice of the peace; every vagrant, who could not produce a letter patent, was to be taken up, put into stocks and imprisoned until he found surety to return to his former master. Servants, however, travelling in the business of their masters, were exempted from the penalties of the act; or apprentices in trades, where they were not much wanted, might be compelled to assist in getting in the harvest. p. 13.

1388

servants must have a letter patent when away from home.

Eden's "State of the Poor in England."

The clergy we are informed by the canons of the council of Lateran, assisted in the cultivation of their lands. The archbishop of Canterbury, Becket, when he visited a monastery in harvest, did not disdain to labour in the fields. The trades, necessary for agriculture, seem likewise to have been practised by the monks. All the clergy, in the Saxon periods of our history, were taught some mechanic art, and were obliged, by the canons, to exercise it at their leisure hours; ... indeed I am fully persuaded that abbatial government was much more favorable to national prosperity than baronial authority. 50.

Clergy cultivated the ground.

Upon the whole, it may be safely affirmed, that before the end of the 14th. century, civilization and the comforts attendant on order and industry had made a considerable progress in England; there can be little doubt but that in fact, the great mass of the people were, in comparison with their position at the Conquest, rich, happy and independent. p. 53.

In 1400 considerable progress made in England.

In the insurrection of Wat Tyler, 1381, which notwithstanding the atrocities it produced, seems to have materially contributed towards the extinction of villenage; the vassals of the soil, who were already citizens, artisans, men well acquainted with the rights of rational liberty. They required now directly to the king, the abolition of slavery, freedom of commerce in market towns, without tolls or imposts, and a

1381 that Tyler's insurrection, considered by the insurgents.

Hume, II 246.

fixed rent on lands, instead of services due by villenage.

These requests were, however, complied with; charters of manumission were granted to the discontented villeins, and although revoked after the rebellion was crushed, and many hundreds of the insurgents executed as traitors, it is probable that the general spirit which had manifested itself among the people, prevented nobles from again imposing and vassals from submitting to the harsh, though legal, services of bondage.

p. 53.

1367- Farm stock of the Bishop of Winchester.

In 1367, the stock on the land of a great prelate, the Bishop of Winchester, appears by an inquisition taken at his death to have amounted to 121 draft horses, 1556 head of black cattle, 876 sheep, [illegible] swine, [illegible] lambs. In Hume II [illegible] say [illegible] that the estates of those lords were cultivated by the individual himself, managed by his steward or bailiff, and cultivated by his villeins.

p. 54.

Farming by halves.

Some landlords, who had been induced to manumit their vassals, usually furnished them with the land, utensils and implements of husbandry, necessary for the farm; and usually advanced for seed, half the crop, after selling such cattle as was necessary for replacing the stock. Such was the metayer system, a species of bondage which, Adam Smith says, had been long in disuse in England. Smith

metayers.

Smith also ascribes the origin of bondage to the mere carelessness of great landlords. "Give a pair of diamond buckles, perhaps, or something as frivolous and useless, they exchange the maintenance, or what is the same thing, the price of the

Villeins sold for money.

maintenance of a thousand men for a year, and with it, the whole weight and authority which it could give them, and that for the gratification of the most childish, the meanest, and the most loathed of all vanities, they ceded their whole power & authority. "Wealth of Nations. II-125.] p. 56.

More poor in Berkshire than in Jamaica.

The capital stock of Berkshire is, perhaps, ten times as great as that of the island of Jamaica; and yet the number of those, who in that part of England, have no visible means of support, and subsist entirely on charity, I doubt not, exceeds those in Ja., of a similar description, in as great a proportion. p. 58.

Little money in England

A decayed weaver, in the 13th century, I make no doubt, was relieved by the weavers' gild; and a poor German mariner by the merchants of the steel yard in London. Little money circulated in England, even in the time of Henry the Third; otherwise he should not have met with an order of that Prince to return a fee from taking more than 2d a week for every pound lent to an Oxford scholar; a rate of interest which amounts to more than 43 per cent. p. 60.

Fews take 43 per ct.

From the complaints of the Commons, in 1406, we learn, that the inhabitants of the upland country, who had no property in land, (that is to say), agricultural labourers, in order to evade the statutes

passed a few years before, for obliging those who had been brought up to the plough till they were 12 yrs. of age, to continue in husbandry till their 18th year, had recourse to the expedient of sending their children into city and boroughs, and binding them apprentices when they were under that age. It was therefore enacted, That no man, nor woman, whosoever, unless possessed of land, or a rental of 20s. a year, should bind a child, of any age, apprentice, to any trade or mystery within a city, but that children should be brought up in the occupation of their parents, or other business suited to their condition; they were however allowed to be sent to a school, in any part of the kingdom. This slight attention of the Legislature to education, affords some proof that the kingdom was becoming more civilized. p. 64.

1406 Children must be brought up to the occupation of their parents

School mentioned.

We have a convincing proof of the devastation made by the sword among the people, in the language of a Statute passed in 1421: It states, That at the making of the Act of the 14th of Edward the Third, 1340, there were sufficient of proper men in each county to execute every office; but that owing to pestilence and war, there are not now a sufficiency of responsible persons to act as sheriffs, coroners and escheators. p. 64.

1421 Territory diminished by war.

In 1444, the wages of agricultural labourers were specifically limited by Act of Parliament, in the following

Eden's "State of the Poor in England".

manner, The Wages, by the Year, were

		£		s
1444 –	A bailiff in husbandry was permitted to receive	1-3-4	& clothes worth	5-0
	A chief hind, carter & chief shepherd	1-0 0	" "	4-0
Wages established by Parliament.	A common servant in husbandry,	0-15-0	" "	3-4
	A woman servant	0-10-0	" "	4-8
	A child under 14 yrs. of age,	0-6-0	" "	3-0

all with meat & drink.

The wages, by the Day, were:

	s		d
A mower, with meat & drink	0-4 –	without,	0-6.
A reaper, carter " " "	0-3 –	"	0-5.
A woman, and other laborer, "	0-2½ –	"	0-4.

A servant in husbandry, intending to quit his master, was bound to give him half a year's warning, or else to serve him the following year. p. 65.

From comparing the above wages with those allowed by the Legislature in 1358, it would appear, that the money price of labour had considerably increased within the short space of 40 years: this may be principally ascribed to the great encouragement offered by manufactures & commerce, and the consequent emancipation of villeins. At the accession of Henry the Fourth, I should conceive that there was but a small proportion of them remaining in the kingdom. 66.

1399 few villeins remaining.

Hosen, or what we now call pantaloons, were worn by the nobility, in Ireland, as late as Queen Elizabeth's reign. They were made of cloth, and un-

Hosen.

ally red. pp. 68. - Note.

The Articles equivalent apparel in the Reign of Edward the Fourth, &c. pp. 68 f. The dress of the people in Henry the 8th's age, appears to have been simple and well contrived; it consisted of wool, now* made of cloth, a jacket or coat buttoned and fastened round about the body by a belt or girdle, and a bonnet of cloth. It is probable that hats were not much used until a century afterwards, although mention is made of them in a statute of Richard the Third, by which the price of a hat is limited at 20d.

Dress of the people in the reign of Henry 8th.

breeches hose.

* Note. Dr. Henry, Hist of G. B. b. 5. c. 5. adds breeches; these, however, I conceive, included both breeches & stockings, p. 61.

From the picture given by Fortescue, of the miserable condition of the people in France about this period, we may collect, that the English were comparatively well provided with the essential necessaries of food & clothing. It is fair to presume, from the description of the poverty of France, which he ascribes to the levels of their government, that such extreme wretchedness were known in this kingdom. Of the French, he says; They drynke water, they eate apples, with bred right brown made of rye. They eate no flesche, but if it be seldom, a little lardes, or the entrails, or heds of beste, sclayne for the abbes and nun chaunts of the lond. They weryn no wollen, but if it be a pore cote under their utterymost garment, made of hosyn canvas, and cal it a frock. Their hosyn be of like

Fortescue Mirandi condition of the French peasantry.

hosyn.

canvas, and passen not their knee; wherfor they be gartred, and their thyghs bare. &c. p. 70.

For further concerning hosen & stockings see note on pp. 70 71.

From the frequency of these laws, concerning agriculture and large inclosures of land, Mr. Hume very justly infers, that none of them were executed. i. 73.

The accession of Henry the Seventh to the throne may however be considered as the commencement of an era of internal tranquility and industry. By his marriage with Elizabeth, the heiress of the house of York, all apprehensions of a renewal of the calamities of civil war were happily extinguished. The race of villeins was now almost extinct, and the people, from this period, seem to have gradually advanced towards wealth & civilization. Their progress would, probably, have been more rapid, had the attention, which the Legislature shewed to commerce & manufactures, been equally bestowed on agriculture. In the former, the earnings of industry were intirely left to the operation of demand & competition; in the latter, the unenlightened policy of regulating wages was still pursued, and agricultural labourers, and house artificers were denied the invaluable privilege of carrying their labour to the best market. p. 74.

Henry the 7th. villeins almost extinct — progress. commerce " agriculture.

Glass windows, it is probable, were not introduced

ish farm houses such before the reign of James the First.
1615 They are mentioned in a lease in 1615.- In Scotland,
however, as late at 1661, the windows of the ordinary country
Glass not used. houses were not glazed, and only the upper parts of even
those in the kings palaces had glass; the lower ones hav-
ing two wooden shutters, to open at pleasure, and ad-
mit the fresh air. p. 77.

In 1496. the statute concerning vagabonds & beggars
was moderated, and it was enacted, "That instead
of being by convication, committed, to the common gaol,
1496 (there to remain as is aforesaid (that is till they should
find surety to enter into service) vagabonds, idle and
Law re Feeding Vagabonds, suspected persons, should be set in the stocks 3 days &
3 nights, and have no sustenance but bread & water,
and afterwards set at large, and obliged to leave the
town. For a second offence in the same township, they
were to remain in the stocks 6 days & nights, and to be fed
on bread & water; and any persons giving them their
meat & drink, while they remained there, were subject
to a penalty of 12d.- It was also enacted, That every
beggar, not able to work should go, set and abide
in the hundred where he was best known, or born, on
Travelling scholars must have testimonials, &c. pain of like punishment. Scholars were liable to the
same penalties of the act, unless they could produce letters
testimonial from the chancellor of their respective universities.
Sailors, soldiers, and travellers, were ordered to bring
letters from their captain, or from the town where they
landed, and were directed to travel homewards by the

straightest road. p. 79.

In the 1st year of Henry the 8th, an Act was passed for the regulation of apparel, providing that no serving man waiting upon his master, under the degree of a gentleman, use or wear any garded hose, or any cloth above the price of 20d. the yard in his hose, &c. and that no servant of husbandry, nor

Records not to wear clothes above 20d. a yd. nor shepherd, common labourer, or servant of any citizen or burgher, nor husbandman having goods of his own of the value of 10£, use or wear any cloth whereof the broad yard exceeded in value price 2s. p. 81.

By an Act passed in 1530, beggars were divided into two classes; viz. the aged & impotent, and

1530 vagabonds and idle persons; the and justices of the peace were empowered to license such persons of

beggars licenced, the first description, by letter under their seals, to beg within a certain precinct, as they should think has most need. &c.

While the Legislature thus sanctioned mendicity in persons incapacitated from working, they imposed very severe punishments on vagrants, who were able to labour. Every vagabond, whole and mighty in

Vagrants whipped, body, who should be found begging, and could give no account how he got his living, was to be tied to the carts tail, and whipped, (more severely, I should imagine, than impotent beggars,) till his body was

bloody by reason of such whipping; and then sworn to the place where he was born, or last dwelt for the space of 3 years, and there put himself to labour. Persons delivered out of gaol had liberty to beg for their fees, on procuring a license from the gaoler, or a testimonial from the clerk of the peace. p. 83.

1536. By an Act of the 27th of Henry VIII. c. 25, vagabonds are denominated "Coffers and valiant beggars," and the penalty for begging is extremely severe; for the first offence a vagabond was already subject to a whipping by the former statute, and was to be sworn to return to the place of his birth, or where he resided for the last three years; or, however, he could have a visible means of subsistence during his oath, the present statute enacted, that he should be at liberty, at the end of every 10 miles, to repair to any constable of a parish on his direct road, and, on producing a testimonial of his having been whipped and passed to his own country, should be entitled to meat, drink, & lodging for one night only, or for one meal. If, after having been apprehended, whipped & sent home, he should again wander, loiter, or else use himself & play the vagabond, and absent himself from such place as he should be appointed unto; he was ordered not only to be whipped again, and sent to the place wherein he was first apprehended, but also to have the upper part of the gristle of his right ear cut clean off. The statute adds this severe clause,

Rogues & valiant beggars.

3d offence

gristle of right ear cut off.

that if he shall again offend, he shall be committed to gaol till the next sessions, and being
regards there convicted upon indictment, he shall suffer
just as if not imprisonment be either fains or execution of death as
a felon, and as an enemy of the commonwealth".
p. 87.

It is justly observed, that among other bad effects which attended the monastic institutions, it was
Monasteries not perhaps one of the least, though frequently esteemed quite diverse, that they substituted and fed a very numerous & very idle poor, whose sustenance depended upon what was daily distributed in alms at the
hundred rate of the religious houses. but the truth is, that
more to the abbies were more enriched with the Rich than
rich than the Poor. p. 95.
by poor.

Old Henry Jenkins lamented, with reason, that the days were over in which he used to be invited to the hard ale chamber, to feast on a mess of a yard of roast beef, and washed in a black jack; he was probably not the only sufferer. This violent transfer of property, however ultimately beneficial to the nation in general, must have at first materially
Old Henry Jenkins lamentation abbies. impeded the course of industry in that part of the country & which a religious house formed in some degree the metropolis. p. 98.

1532 By an act passed in 1532, the price of beef &
price of beef limited to ½d. pork was limited to a half-penny, and of mutton

veal to three farthings a pound, averdupois weight. p. 98.

Very early in Edward the Sixth reign, 1547–1553, the Legislature reiterated the old complaints against idleness & vagabondage. It was therefore enacted, "That if any man, or woman, able to work, should refuse to labour, and live idly for three days, that he or she should be branded with a red hot iron on the breast with the letter V, and should be adjudged the slave, for 2 years, of any person, who should inform against such idler. And the master was directed to feed his slave with bread & water, a small drink, and such refuse meat as he should think proper; and to cause his slave to work, by beating, chaining or otherwise, in such work & labour, (how vile soever it be) as he should put him unto;" and the statute adds that "if he run away from his master for the space of 14 days, he shall become his slave for life, after being branded on the forehead, or cheek, with the letter S; and if he runs away a second time and shall be convicted thereof by the sufficient witnesses, he shall be taken as a felon, and suffer pains of death, as other felons ought to do."

1547

Vagabonds branded "V."

Runaways branded "S."

Masters may sell slaves like other goods.

Masters are empowered "to sell, bequeath, let out for hire, or give the service of their slave to any person whomsoever, upon such conditions and for such term of years, as the said persons be adjudged to him for slaves, after the like sort & manner as he may do of any other his moveable goods & chattels."

Another clause of the statute directs, that "if any such

slaves so adjudged shall at any time after adjudgment maime or wounde their masters or mistresses in resisting their correction or otherwise, or when they be manumitted or set againe free, or, in the time of their service, shall conspire with any other, or by themselves, go about to murder & kill, or to maime their masters or mistresses, or to burne their houses, barnes, or corne, so that their intent come to an act tending to the effect, that they should likewise be accounted felons, unless some person would take such offender into their service as a slave for ever."

Slaves wounding master or mistress to be judged felons.

A subsequent clause enacts that "although there be no man which shall demand such loiterer or loiterers, yet nevertheless justices of the peace shall be bound to inquire after such idle persons, and if it shall appear that any such have been vagrant for the space of three days, he shall be branded on the breast with a V, made with an hot iron; and shall be conveyed to the place of his birth, there to be nourished, & kept in chains, or otherwise, either at the common works in amending highways, or in the service of individuals, after all such former condition, space of years, orders, punishments, for running away, as are expressed of any common or private person to whom such loiterer is adjudged a slave.

A vagrant for 3 days to be branded "V", & made to work in chains.

"If vagabonds are carried to places, of which they have declared themselves to be natives, then regard to such place of birth, shall be marked on the face with an S, and be slave to the inhabitants a corporation of the place of birth, made slaves forever.

Vagabonds living in no place, to be marked in the face with an S.

town, city, or village, where he said he was born in, for ever".

"All persons were empowered to take idle children from vagabonds, and to claim them as apprentices, till the boys were 24, and the girls 20 years of age; and if they ran away before the end of their term, their masters might, upon recovering them, punish them in chains or otherwise, and use them as slaves till the time of their apprenticeship should have expired."

Children of vagabonds may be made apprentices till 24 & 20.

A master was, likewise, authorized to "put a ring of iron about the neck, arm, or leg of his slave, for a more knowledge & surety of the keeping of him." pp. 101-2.

ring of iron on the neck.

By the 2nd & 3rd, 1554-5 Ph. & M. c. 5. "All poor folks, licensed to beg out of the limits of a city or town corporate, were ordered to wear, both on the breast and on the back of their outermost garment, some notable badge, or token, to be assigned to them by the head officer, with the assent of the justices." p. 106.

Beggars must wear badge.

The nobility, in judiciously preferring a form of expence, which promoted the arts, to the coarse enjoyments of baronial splendor, which were the source of disease & death, had necessarily bartered their personal authority for private comfort. p. 106.

Nobility barter personal authority for comfort.

For Lord Bacon on the oppressions arising from purveyance see Eden. I. 107-8. Bacon's Works. 4to iv. 305. 6.

Bacon on purveyance.

Little doubt, however, can be entertained, that during the

16th century, the nation was making unexampled strides towards the attainment of opulence & comfort.... Mr. Hume shows that it was in consequence of a more regular police, and a stricter administration of justice, that men of property were so induced to leave the inconvenient towns and to settle into the country.... The principal difference between the enormities committed in ancient times and in the 15th century, seems to have been, that in the former, large bodies of men, headed by a desperate chieftain, carried on a species of civil war against their neighbours; and, in the latter, every part of the kingdom was infested with vagabonds & robbers....

Progress of England in 16th century.

1512 — Prisoners for debt, more than 10,000.

The prisoners for debt, in the different gaols of the kingdom, are stated by Mr. Hume, on the authority of an Act of Parliament passed in 1512, to have exceeded the number of 60,000, and Harrison assures us that the king executed his laws with such severity, that "72,000 "great & petty thieves were put to death during his reign". He adds, that even in Elizabeth's reign, "rogues were hussed up apace", and that there was not "one year, commonly, wherein 300 or 400 of them were not devoured & eaten up by the gallows, in one place & other." This account of the disorderly state of the kingdom is strongly corroborated by a statement preserved by Stype, which was written by an eminent Justice of the Peace in Somersetshire, in 1596, five years before the memorable Act for the relief of the Poor. In enumerating the disorders which then prevailed in that county, the author informs us, that 40 persons had there been exe-

72,000 thieves put to death under Henry the 8th.

Crime in 1596.

what in a year, for robberies, thefts and other crimes; 30 found in the hand; 35 whipped; 183 discharged, that these were discharged for want of work; hopeful persons, who never could come to any good, because they would not work, and no one could take them into service: that, notwithstanding these great numbers of indictments, the fifth part of the crimes committed in the county were not brought to trial. p. 111.

Tillage appears to have improved very considerably, both in this and in the preceding reign: in 1574, 20 bushels of wheat an acre was esteemed a fair average crop; such a produce would, even now, in many parts of England, not be considered as despicable. p. [illegible]

15 to 20 crop - 20 bushels to the acre.

Even subsidies, which perhaps fell less heavily on the people than any other taxes, were levied with great partiality ... A subsidy, which in the 8th of Elizabeth amounted to £120,000, in the 40th year of her reign, was only £75,000, ... "The small freeholders, or 20 pound men, of none of less income paid any subsidy, and went continually to decay; and when their estates were swallowed up by a greater, the new purchaser increased not his subsidy."

Subsidies, under Elizabeth, from small freeholders.

Among other effects, which the Legislature ascribed to great farms, the number of sheep is particularly noticed. The Act passed in 1597, for restraining the number of sheep to be kept in a flock to 2000, remarks, that some impostors had now flocks of 24,000 sheep, and describe

24,000 sheep in a flock.

Eden's "State of the Poor in England."

the increase of the price of meat to the increase of sheep. A note on p. 115 says. One of the speakers in the dialogue above quoted was of the same opinion: "yea, those sheepe is the cause of all these mischiefs, as they have driven husbandry out of the country, by the which was increased before, all kinde of victuals, and now altogether sheepe, sheepe, sheepe!" p. 115.

Sheep farming the cause of mischief.

The following description from Harrison affords us a very adequate idea of the mean & scanty fare of the labouring classes. "The gentilitie commonlie provide themselves sufficientlie of wheat for their owne tables, whilest their household & poore neighbors in some shires are inforced to content themselves with rie or barlie; yea, and in time of dearth, manie of them bread made either of beans, peason, or otes, or of altogither, and some acorns amongst of rye, barley, which seeme the poorest to sometimes taste, yitt they are horse corne, least able to provide themselves of better. ... The artificer & labourer is driven to content themselves with horse corne, beanes, peason, otes, tares and lintels." [Description of England, - p. 168] 116.

Fare of the common people - rye, barley, horse corne, &c.

Of the population, he says, "Some do grudge at the great increase of people in these daies, thinking a necessarie brood of cattel, farre better than a superfluous multitude of mankind. Thus a greater number can complaine of the increase of poortie, laying the cause upon God; as though he were in fault for sending such increase of people, or rather of wars that should consume

Increase of population complained of.

them, affirming that the land was never so full". p. 119.

The above accounts uniformly agree on one point, that the condition of the labouring classes was far from enviable. The middling ranks, however, before the end of the 16th century, appear to have advanced much in opulence and independence. .... Harrison says, respecting the furniture of dwelling-houses, that "so common were all sorts of treene stuffe in old time, that a man should hardly find foure sceres of pewter, of which one was peradventure a salt, in a good farmer's house; and yet for all this frugalitie (if it may so be justly called) they were scarce able to live, and paie their rents at their daies without selling of a cow or an horse or more, although they paid but 4 pounds at the uttermost by the yeare." p. 120.

Furniture in the 16th century

treene stuffe,

It is probable that the husbandry of England, in the 16th century, was much in the state that it is now in Scotland; where every little farmer has his plot of flax ground, and the linen for the family is manufactured at home. p. 121.

England in 16th century like Scotland in 18th,

The parliaments of Elizabeth imitated the short-sighted policy of former legislatures, in placing the most important of all contracts, namely, the hiring and service of labourers, under the superintendence of the magistrates, & it seems very probable, (though history is silent on the subject,) that the mischievous provisions of statute, which obliged a man to accept wages, which, in times of scarcity, could not possibly maintain him, may, among other causes,

Magistrates under Elizabeth regulate wages,

have greatly contributed to the increasing wants of the people, and the consequent establishment of the poor's rate. p. 123.

The persons affected by the act of the 5th Elizabeth, 1562 2

1562 may be divided into 3 classes, menial servants, labourers, and apprentices. With respect to the first, are single persons between 12 years old & 60, and married ones under 30, and unmarried women between 12 & 40, not having a visible livelihood, are compellable by two Justices to go out to service in husbandry, or certain specific trades; and no master can put away his servants, or servant leave his master, before the expiration of his term, without the assent of a Justice; nor even at the end of his term without giving a quarter's warning. Servants departing from their masters before the end of their term, unless upon some reasonable cause to be allowed by a Justice, or refusing to serve for the wages appointed by the magistrates, are punishable with imprisonment, till they consented to serve. p. 125

All single persons between 12 & 60, must serve in husbandry or trades.

Servants leaving their masters to be imprisoned

Male children of poor persons, by a subsequent statute, 39th Elizabeth c. 3. may be apprenticed out by the overseers, with consent of the Justices, till 24 years of age, & females till 21, to such persons as they are thought fitting. Blackstone remarks that "children of fortune, & ecclesiastics, are equally liable with others to such compulsion; & that the statutes for the regulation of wages extend only to servants in husbandry; it being impossible for any magistrate to be a judge of the employment of menial

Male children of the poor apprenticed till 24.

servants, or, of course, to assess their wages. However, by a subsequent Statute, the 5th of Eliz., was interpreted to extend to weavers, spinsters, and all workmen & workwomen what soever. pp. 126 7.

1572 - The legislature in 1572, directed that "begging, if the offender was above 14 years of age, should be punished in the first instance, by grievous whipping and burning through the cartilage of the right ear, unless some creditable person would take the beggar into his service for a year; & if a vagabond, above 18 years old, offended a second time, he was liable to suffer death as a felon, unless some creditable person would take him into service for 2 years; and, if he offended a third time, he was to be adjudged a felon. p. 128.

Begging punished with whipping & burning.

Note. Being sent to the galleys, it would appear, was a punishment actually inflicted at this time. In the 42nd year of Elizabeth, a special commission was issued, pro condemnatis ad galeas transferendis." p. 129.

Galleys under Elizabeth.

Increasing inconveniences at length produced the memorable 43rd of Elizabeth, which concentrates in one point the accumulated expences of a long reign, and has continued near two centuries to be the groundwork of every regulation respecting the affording the Poor...

Alterations introduced by the 43rd Elizabeth.

The following seem to be the principal alterations introduced by the 43rd of Elizabeth.

Instead of sending those who refuse to work to the house of correction, which seems the proper place,

Justices were empowered to commit them to the common gaol. The Act, however, does not specify how they shall be employed.

Cottages. In addition to the clause respecting the erection of cottages on the waste, it is decreed, that such buildings shall not, at any time after, be used for any other habitation, but only for the impotent poor, who shall be placed there from time to time by the churchwardens & overseers. p. 132.

Fewer poor in 1600 than in 1794. In regard to the comparative number of the receivers and payers of parochial contributions, immediately after the establishment of the Poor's Rate, were I to permitted to hazard a conjecture on this subject, I should estimate the number of the Poor, (i.e. persons either receiving or wanting parochial relief,) at the close of the 16th, and beginning of the 17th century, to have borne a less proportion to the other classes of the nation, than the number of those in similar circumstances do at present. p. 133.

1795. In 1795, in the parish of Burwash, in Sussex, for instance, one fourth of the inhabitants appear to be chargeable, and one third of the actual to be apportioned to the parish maintenance: in Castlegate quarter, in Carlisle, nine tenths supported of the population partook of the contributions raised and expended for the relief of the necessitous: and in Knaresborough, which is estimated to contain about 20,000 souls, between 5 & 6000 individuals, exclusive of the regular Poor,

received charity in the course of 1796. pp. 133.

1581 It was not entirely to the decay of tillage that Elizabeth's parliaments principally ascribed the distresses of the Poor; the increase of poverty was also imputed, (as it has been in modern times) to the great size of the metropolis. The actual serious evil was thus magnificent symptom of national prosperity considered, that in 1581, a proclamation was issued prohibiting the erection of new buildings within three miles of the city gate, and limiting the number of inmates in a house to one family.

Poverty of England & the great size of London.

Among the various funds appropriated to the relief of the Poor, previous to the establishment of a compulsory maintenance by the 43rd. Elizabeth, I should mention a branch of supply, which although perhaps inconsiderable in its produce, even amidst the much complained of profligacy of modern times, has been thought worthy of notice by every Legislature during the 2 last centuries. I allude to pecuniary forfeitures, which for many statutable offences, and particularly for those relative to profaneness or immorality, are now applied in aid of the Poor Rate.... The lovers of good order may, however, be assured, that the Poor's Rate has never derived much aid from the punishment of immorality, notwithstanding the innumerable statutes passed of late years, some of which appropriate a part, and others the whole of a pecuniary forfeiture towards the relief of the poor. pp. 197-8.

Pecuniary forfeitures.

During the reign of James the First, a few additions were made

to the laws respecting vagrancy and mendicity. The Act of Elizabeth, for the punishment of rogues & vagabonds, was continued and explained; and its provisions were enforced by additional severities. One of the clauses of King James's Act, respecting rogues, who, having been banished, should return into the kingdom, merits insertion. It says that the statute of Elizabeth, respecting them, was somewhat defective; "for that the said rogues, having no marke upon them to be known by, may return or retire themselves into some other part of this realm where they are not known, and so escape the punishment which the said statute did intend to inflict upon them. It was therefore enacted, that rogues, adjudged incorrigible & dangerous, should be branded on the left shoulder with a hot iron of the breadth of a shilling, having a Roman R upon it, and placed to labour; and if, after such punishment, they were found begging & wandering, they were to be adjudged slaves, and to suffer death without benefit of clergy. The harsh penalties of this Act continued in force till the 12th of Anne, 1713, when they were somewhat modified, and, at length, a just distinction was made between idle disorderly persons, & rogues & vagabonds. p. 139.

Invented rogues, returning branded with a hot iron.

R.

"

2nd offence death.

The provisions, even of modern statutes, relative to this branch of Penal Law, appear to me, in some instances, unnecessarily severe. By the Vagrant Act, a person wandering abroad & begging, is deemed a rogue & vagabond, & woman wandering & begging, if delivered of a child

Begging Woman having a child in another parish, publickly whipped.

in a parish to which she does not belong, is made liable to public whipping and six months imprisonment. It is not unreasonable to suppose, that the great disproportion between the offence and the punishment is the principal reason why this statute is so seldom carried into execution. pp. 139-4.

Many poor ish forward in Eliza-beth's time.

The situation of the Poor, even after the passing of the 43rd. of Elizabeth for providing a compulsory maintenance for them, is represented by some authors, as exceedingly deplorable; & the assessments for their relief are said to have been so low, that many perished for want. p. 144.

King James reign 11 Wages 3d a day.

The price of corn, during King James's reign, Mr. Eyre informs us, was rather higher than it was in the middle of the following century. It is not easy to conceive, that whilst such high prices continued, a labourer, whose wages, on an average, it is probable, were about 3d a day, could have been as well provided with the most important necessaries of life as he is at present. Many excellent plants which are now cultivated in the fields were in the beginning of the 16th century, either little known, or exclusively confined to the tables of the rich. Potatoes, which are now, very generally used by the poor in every part of England where fuel is cheap, were in King James's reign, considered as a great delicacy. Tea and sugar, which are now to be met with in most cottages in the southern parts of England, were still greater rarities. The latter is, indeed, noticed by many authors, even as early as the 16th century, but continued to be very dear, even in Jamet

Potatoes, a great delicacy.

Tea & sugar rarities.

reign. Tea, it is probable, was then scarcely known; and certainly, was little used in England. p. 152.

I do not suppose, that, in general, the dramatic effusions of Shakespeare would be admitted as good evidence of the price of commodities in his time, nor should I venture to quote him, but that Mr. Hume, very properly in my opinion, has not thought it beneath the dignity of history to remark that Dame Quickly's bill to Falstaff, that the shirts which she had bought him were Holland at 8s an ell; a very high price at this day; even supposing, what is not probable, that the best holland, at that time, was equal in goodness to the best which can now be purchased. p. 154.

Shakespeare

holland 8s an ell.

In 1622, there appeared a small pamphlet, entitled Necessary Grones for the Poore, done by a Well wisher, who wisheth that the Poore of England, might be so provided for, as none should neede to go a begging within this realme. By Mr. P. London.

"Necessary Grones."

The author of this tract complains, that the Statutes respecting the Poor, although excellent, were not enforced. "Even the maimed souldiours, that have ventured their lives, and lost their limbes for in our behalf, when they return home, to live by some labour in their naturall country, though they can worke well in some kinde of labour, every man sayeth, "We will not bee troubled with their service, but make other shifte for our business. So they are turned forth to travaile in idlenesse,

Act of 43 Eliz. not enforced.

No work for returned soldiers.

Proverb- "Seek their meate upon meares."

(the highway to hell,) and seek their meate upon meares, as the proverbe goeth) with begging, pilching, and stealing for their maintenance, untill the law bring them unto the fearfull end of hanging." p. 155.

1633- Price list of prices and,

A list of the prices directed by proclamation, in 1633, to be observed in London, by poulterers, victuallers, and wood-mongers, is given at p. 162. ... Of the wages of labor, we have very little information that can be depended on. In 1626, the King's master sadler's daily pay was 12d. a day for himself, and 3½d. a day for his servant. The master mason, at Windsor-castle also received 12d. a day. p. 163.

Master-mason, 12d. a day.

Owing to the scarcity in 1632, the expence of living seems to have risen very considerably in the metropolis. This, and the increase of the Poor Rates, were attributed to the nobility and gentry residing constantly with their families in London. In the following year, several regulations were made by the Star chamber, for keeping down the prices of provisions and of house rent, in London and Westminster. The wretchedness of the Poor was, in some degree, ascribed to the fraudulent practices of bakers.

Wretchedness of the Poor, ascribed to frauds of bakers.

During the first ten years of Charles's reign, the labouring Poor, it seems, were often paid their weekly wages in farthing tokens, which were much below their nominal value. In the preceding reign, these tokens were the only copper coin in circulation. Tailors, drapers, and

Tokens.

other retailers of small wares, in London, circulated their own tokens, usually of lead, among their customers. Sir Robert Cotton remarks, that in and near London, three score people, one with another, cast yearly five pounds weight apiece in leaden tokens. In consequence of private coins his advice, King James granted a patent for the coinage of copper tokens; and in 1625, King Charles, in consideration of a fine of 100 marks, for 14 years, permitted the Duchess Dowager of Richmond, and Sir Francis Crane, to fabricate farthing tokens of copper. Private tokens, however, continued in circulation till the year 1638, when they were put down by proclamation.

p. 165.

In 1646, there was published a small quarto tract in 8 pages, intitled "Stanley's Remedy: or the Poor law to repress Roaring Rogues, Theeves, High way Men and Pick pockets." &c. "By some Well wisher to the Honour of God and the Publike Good, lover of Rich and Poor. &c. London, printed for the Good of the Poore, 1646

Stanley's Remedy.

The following is quoted by Eden from Stanley's Book. "The grand mischeifes of this kingdome, which makes the kingdom not only poore, but also verie wicked, he sheweth to be three sorts, viz.

1. All sorts of roaguish wandering vagrants.
2. All sorts of theeves, high-way robbers, pick-pockets, and such like".

Eden, Vol. I. p. 166.

Eden's Vol. I. I have some doubts, whether this tract is not a transcript of some parts of Mr. Stanley's book, written in

King James reign; if it is so, it clearly proves, that the principal object of the act of Elizabeth, the setting the Poor to work, was little attended to, even in the beginning of the last century. pp. 167, 165-6

More than 80,000 idle vagrants in England

"But it is thought by some honorable, grave and wise counsellors of State, that there are not so few as 80,000 idle vagrants in this land, that prey upon the common wealth; which losses being estimated and reduced, would amount to a very great sum, which reckoned comes to £1000, a day, which by the year amounts to 365 thousand pounds; and there is left no other way to reclaim them, but by selling them, or the greatest number of them, to work, in all market towns, in houses of instruction or correction; and those who will not work in neither of these houses, but are resolved to lead a refractorie life, they may be sent either to sea, (to rid the land of them) or sold to the English plantations to see whether God will turn their hearts, and amend their lives, that they may not come to a shamefull end, but rather hope they may return to their country again with joy." p. 167.

Idlers to be sent either to sea, or to the Plantations,

"One Mr. Harman, a Warwickshire gentleman, dwelling about Sutton Coldfield, seeing his parish to be pestered exceedingly with lusty beggars and wandering rogues, did set them all to work, to gather stones forth of his grounds, and gave them some small relefe in meat and drink, and a penny a day, and paid them hard to work, (having lusty stout servants to sit by them,) and when he had made an end of gathering his owne grounds, he set them to work in his neighbours grounds

Mr. Harman sets all the poor to work.

and find them their wages; which time, when all the rest of the wandering rogues and beggars understood, they dust not one of them come a begging in that parish for fear they should be made to work; and for the younger sort of the idle poore in his own parish, this was such a discipline for them, that they did betake themselves to honest labour, and so the old, aged, and true poore of his parish, were very much the better releeved."

"I would to God there were more such Hammond in England! but I feare there are either too few, or none at all, that do take the like care for the abandoning of idleness as he did."

"The generall rule of all England is to whip and punish the wandering beggars, and to brand them with such a note of infamie, as they may be assured no man will set them on work, and so many Justices execute one point of that good statute, which is the point of justice, but as for the point of charitie they leave undone, which is to provide houses and convenient places to set the poore to work, which ought to be done in equitie and justice, as well as the other."

No work provided for the poor.

"The Poore may be whipped to death and branded as rogues, and so become felons by the law, and the next time be hanged for vagrancie, (by an act made in the dayes of Q. Elizabeth, of famous memorie,) before any private man will set them to work, or provide houses for labour, and stock and materials for them, the publike must ayne their shoulders to the work,

else it will never be done".

"The statute commands, that the vagrants should repaire to the places where they were borne, or last dwelled; in which there are thousands of these people, that their place of birth is utterly unknowne, and they had never any abiding place in their lives, or ever retained in service; but were and are vagrants by descent".

Vagrants no place to go to.

"I have heard the rogues and beggars curse the magistrates unto their faces, for providing such a law to whip and brand them, and not provide houses of labour for them; for surely many would go voluntarily to the work houses to work, if such houses were provided for them". So that the penalties which the statute appoints.

"I make no doubt, (most gracious Soveraigne) but it is evident to all men, that beggerie and theverie did never no more abound within this your realme of England, and the cause of this miserie is idlenesse, and the only meanes to cure the same must be by his contrarie, which is labour; for till the begging souldier, and the wandering and sturdy beggar, that they are able to work for their living and bid them go to their work, they will presently answer you, they would work if they could get it."

Beggars would work if they could get it.

And whereas the Dutchmen in the low countries do much desire England to go on with the work of charitie, in employing and relieving the Poor, as they do theirs. Therefore it shall be our prayer, that this good work may be countenanced by the Parliament, because it lacks much reformation, which our happie and honourable Parliament doth much desire and seeke after."

Dutch employ all their poor.

pp. 166-170.

Civil war. If the poverty and distress of the kingdom at this period, cause of distress. were not great, but the civil war must have been one principal cause.... It is, however, consolatory to reflect, that amidst the desolating effects of civil dissension, the nation got rid of the prejudice, which had too long prevailed both in England & on the Continent, that the pursuits of trade were incompatible with high rank. Hume remarks, from Lord Clarendon that the prevalence of democratic principles

Gentlemen engaged the country gentleman to bind their sons apprentices to merchants,* and indeed, even before this period, sons bound of prentices, industry had taken so deep a root in England, that it was not possible for the shock of domestic warfare, however violent, to annihilate it. It continued to send forth such vigorous shoots, even after the subversion of the government, that in 1651, the legal rate of interest was reduced from 8 to 6 per cent. p. 171.

It is probable that the repeated complaints and convincing statements of this writer, (the author of a tract, published in 1650, entitled "A cleare and evident way for enriching the Nations of England & Ireland," signed P. D.)

Recommends of the profit that was to be obtained from the fisheries, fishing vessels to be sent out, induced the Rump Parliament, in the following year, 1651, to pass the celebrated Navigation Act, by which it was enacted, that no fish should be imported into England or Ireland, nor exported from thence to foreign parts, nor even from one port of the kingdom to another, but what

* See Percy's Relics. - The Bailiff's Daughter. - p. 208.

was caught by our own fisherman. p. 173.

13th & 14th, Charles 2nd - Settlement Act.

The Act of the 13th & 14th of Charles 2nd, provides that in order to procure a settlement in a parish, one should reside in it 40 days. During the 40 days, the authorities could remove the new comer to the parish where he was last legally settled, unless he rented a house of £10. a year, or could give such security against becoming chargeable as two Justices should deem sufficient. This applied only to Englishmen. A Scotchman, or an Irishman, unless he committed acts of vagrancy, could not be removed under it, for this plain reason, because they could never become chargeable to the parish in which they resided; if they fell sick or from any other cause were rendered incapable of earning a livelihood, no person could in this country was bound by statute, how strongly soever he might be by moral and religious obligation to relieve them.

Scotch & Irish favored by it.

If they might, however, gain a settlement for their children, they were placed in a better position than British subjects. This statute, by which strangers were the only persons who could remain in any part of England without molestation, is now repealed, and an English laborer may now live in any place he pleases, until he becomes actually chargeable.

Laws of Settlement under Wm. & Mary.

By the 3rd of William & Mary, a person might gain a settlement by being taxed and by executing for a year an annual parish office, by serving in the town an apprenticeship, or by being hired in it for a year. The first two ways cut off all settlement from a poor man, and we

married man can gain a settlement in the last ways, — an apprentice being scarcely ever married, and it is expressly enacted that no married servant shall gain a settlement by being hired for a year.

Children of prentices at 7 yrs.

By the 5th. Elizabeth, & the 17th. George 2nd, children may be bound apprentices at the age of 7 years.

The main purpose of the Settlement Act, was the exclusion of all new comers who did not bring property.

(pp. 175 - 180.

Matrimony discouraged.

"One of the evils which may be fairly ascribed to the Law of Settlements, is the large proportion of bastard children to be met with in every parish, the result of the discouragement which this branch of the Poor System has uniformly presented to matrimony. Young men, as soon as they enter a state of life, likely to make them good members of society, are removed by the parish officers, on pretence that they may soon have a chargeable family. They are therefore afraid to marry, and this leads them frequently to debauch young women and leave them with child, and thus both males and females get into a debauched way of life & become a burden to the public. [Mr. Gearé's Address to the H. of L. & C. on Lord Kaimes's Sketches. 3rd. p. 95. first published in 1774.] p. 182.

Bastards.

Mr. Gearé's Address Ld. Kaimes Sketches. 1774.

Even an industrious man, says Eden, without wife or family, was till very lately, subject to be removed if he could not give such security for the dis-

charge of the Parish, as two justices should judge sufficient. Many vexatious removals must have been the consequence. I will mention one. A village in Berkshire became populous, and a shoemaker from another county removed thither, with his family and implements to better his share condition. An old shoemaker of the village alarmed at the intrusion, told the parish officers that the village could support but one shoemaker, and urged that the new comer would become chargeable. He would have been removed but that the Rector, a just man, threatened to let a tenement of £10. to him, and thus silenced the clamor. The new comer consequently finally established himself in trade, — and notwithstanding the competition, for there are now, not two only but five shoemakers in the parish — and comfortably supports a large family. pp. 182-3.

Story of the poor shoemaker.

[There is much more to the same effect, in Eden, showing how the poor became poorer by these restrictions on their movements which unquestionably was one of the just causes of their emigration.]

[Here follow, in Eden, extracts from the private Christian Discourse of Leeds, which I shall give from his book, further on.]

The author of a pamphlet published in 1673, entitled "The Grand Concern of England Explained" see Harleian Miscellany 8th p. 224, proposes that the multitude of stage coaches and caravans, now travelling the roads, may most of them be suppressed, especially within 50 or 60 miles of

Stage coaches discontinued. — More employment for the poor.

London, where they are no way necessary. This for the purpose of furnishing increased employment to the poor, in taking away the taxes of the rich, who would then be enabled to keep a greater number. p. 110.

[This is one of the many projects for finding artificial employment for the poor, to be found in this volume, and which were to supersede natural laws.]

Warrington's Plans. 1677. Recommends manufacture.

Author Warrington, in 1677, in a Miscellaneous Work, entitled "England's Improvement by Sea and Land", sets forth many projects for the employment of the Poor. He, that wool & iron manufactures should be encouraged by heavy duties on foreign goods. In the same year, a writer who signs himself R. of H., recommends the establishment of working Alms houses, & Hospitals, as the best expedient to effect the manufacture of linen cloth, whereby all poor people and their children from 5 or 6 may be maintained & also all beggars, rogues &c. be abolished. The number of beggars and other unemployed persons, at 100,000, who, by spinning linen, which he had invented, might earn more than their livelihood, and thus advantage the public. pp. 192 - 197.

Working Alms houses & Hospitals.

1678 Tract by Rd. Haines.

In 1678, R. H. (Richard Haines) published another small tract, called, "A Model Government for the Good of the Poor" by which all Poor Persons and their Children may be comfortably provided for. All oppressed Parishes eased, all Beggars and Vagabonds restrained, Poor

Prisoners for Debt relieved and Malefactors reclaimed, to their own Comfort, God's Glory and the Kingdom's Wealth and Honour &c. &c. By R. Haines. p. 199.

Haines recommends work houses for women & children.

"The weakest people not capable of strenuous work, namely women, children, decrepid & aged persons, now the most miserable, as likewise beggars & vagrants, are to be employed in these work-houses, here being reduced into a narrow compass & confinement, they can more effectually be brought to industry than in any other manner, if under qualified rules. These working alms houses, he said, might supply the nation yearly with a sufficient stock of linen cloth, the finest only excepted. He recommends filling these these work houses with children of the poor, and with persons imprisoned for debt, vagrants & felons, except those convicted of murder & treason. A child of moderate understanding of 4 or 5 years old, now costing the parish 2s. a week, may after 2 months' teaching earn 3d. per day, the first year, 5d. the second, 7d. the third, 9d. the fourth, & thus earn more than any woman can do without the help of our engine, so that all may live comfortable by easy employment, and the nation will suddenly be brought up to such an excellent profitable industry, as no nation in the world can exceed."

A child of 4 or 5 may earn 3d. a day.

pp. 199 – 201.

1678 Thomas Firmin's Plans.

In 1678, Thomas Firmin published "Proposals for the Employing of the Poor, especially in and about London", which was republished in 1681, addressed to a friend, Irish bishop Tillotson. Firmin was a man of genuine benev-

dence, and might have made a fortune but for his attention to, and expenditure in schemes, for the benefit of the poor. He bought, or got alone he bought flax ready dressed, and gave it to poor people to spin and soon found so many that were willing to work, that he erected a building in the parish of Heterington, stocked it with hemp, and flax, directed all his poor customers to go there to receive it, and when spun to carry it back & get their money. Some earned 3d or 4d a day, working at odd times, and were better pleased than if the money had been given to them. Firmin's work & his plan was the choice of Crimes and he says "for numbers of the poor it is the only way to provide for our poor and to give them work at their own houses, and that the work house plan, proposed by many, will not answer, for suppose a woman has a sick husband &c, and then, not one person in twenty, but prefers working at home to work-houses, which were only suited to sturdy beggars, and vagrants. He said he had children 4 years 8 years, working for him, and earning 3d a day, and Mr. Chamberlain in his book, entitled "The Present State of England" 1675 - p. 137, hath observed that in the city of Norwich, it hath been of late years computed, and found that, yearly, children, from 6 to 10 years have gained £12,000 more than what they have cost, and that chiefly by knitting fine jersey stockings." pp. 202-205.

Recommends work for the poor at their homes.

Chamberlains book. 1675.

children from 6 to 10 earn £12,000.

The house being finished, Firmin gave notice to the

parish of St. Edith's, Wednesbury, that if they had any poor people, who would work, he would give it to them, upon these conditions, viz., "that they should not take any more pensioners from any employed, nor give pensions to any but such as, being able, follow this or some other employment towards their own maintenance. Any of these persons were to lose both pension and work, the parish allowing only those incapable of labor a bag and those they gave a badge of one and plain bage, pinned on sleeve or breast, on the first three letters of the parish name".

Firmin's plan for providing the poor with work.

His project for finding work for the poor at home, Mr. Eden says, forms the principal part of Mr. Pitt's bill. The date in Firmin's project deserves notice. "I, O, sayeth," he says, "I would advise some able and honest woman to teach 10 of the poorest children to read and to spin flax or hemp". It does not appear, says Eden, that Mr. Firmin's work house continued long in a thriving state. "Four years after its erection," he says, "the worst that can be said of it, is, that it hath not yet been brought to bear its own charges, but this doth neither satisfy me, that every penny that hath not yet been brought to bear its own charges, but this doth neither satisfy me, that every penny that hath been lost by it, either by myself or my friends, hath been many times gained to the poor and to the public."

The work house a failure.

Firmin, however, the trouble was that Mr. Firmin was in advance of his age. His heart was entirely impartial, and although a dissenter and a Puritan, he set no

Eden's "State of the Poor in England".

Assists poor people. time exerted himself, in collecting money for the deprived poor people, but was thwarted by some of his great friends on the ground that the scheme was illegal and in support of the measures of government.

Another of his plans was the establishment of a city pawn, or bank for advancing money upon pawns, at a moderate interest, to the necessitous; because he says, the poor are going to go to such brokers, as will not lend 20s a week under 6d., which comes to 26s a year, to the ruin of many poor people. Pawn brokers are now restrained from extortion by act of Parliament and Eden's plan has been actually adopted.

The people pay 130 per cent per year.

pp. 206 - 214.

1683 - Matthew Hale. In 1683, was published a Discourse touching provision for the Poor, attributed to Sir Matthew Hale, but apparently written long before his death, which occurred in 1676. Eden thinks it was written in 1659.

Thinks the poor could work if they had it.

In commenting on the provisions of the 43d Elizabeth, for the impotent poor, he says "the minister is not so large as the sea. There are many poor who are able to work if they had it, and at reasonable wages, and these do not come within the provision of the law. If they come as petitioners, (that is, make applications for aid,) they are denied, or at least have but mean relief, and then live by begging or stealing." He says it is rare to see any provision of a stock in any parish for the relief of the

poor and the reason is that the generality of people that are able are yet unwilling. His plan is to have a workhouse for every 5 or 6 parishes, and to raise a stock to set the poor on work, and for letting material, and for instructing the children in trade or work. That if any person, who refuses to maintain himself, he shall be forced thereto by imprisonment and correction in such workhouse. The manufacture of serges, bays, and twigs, then carried on in Exeter, Norfolk and Colchester, and linen cloth, carried on in some degree in Lancashire, would gradually be diffused over the whole kingdom. Numbers of poor might thus be employed. He concludes with recommending his plan as a bill which no one to our nature is man & Christian. The want of a due provision for education and relief of the poor in the way of industry is, he says, that which fills the gaols with malefactors, the kingdom with idle and unprofitable persons, that will increase in time even to a desolation! And this evil is never remediable but by gibbets and whipping. But there must be found a method for an undisturbed industrious education of the poor that will give better remedies than penalties can."

pp. 214-224.

Recommends a workhouse for every 5 or 6 parishes.

Richard Dunning on the contrary, in his "Plain and Easy Method, showing how the Office of Overseer of the Poor may be managed," published in 1653, was of opinion that the Statutes of the 43rd Elizabeth, if duly executed, were sufficient to reduce the number of poor.

i.e. Dunning, in 1656, thinks the 43rd Elizabeth sufficient.

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In substance, its provisions are, he says, work for those who will labor, punishment for those that will not, and bread for those that cannot, and if the two first parts of that law were fully observed, the poor would not only be reduced to a small number, comparatively to what they are now, but there would be no such rogues and vagabonds as the 39th of Elizabeth shows that there were before that time, and their repeated punishment of being stripped and sent to the place of their birth would be an admonition to the inhabitants of it to bring up their children better. His work contains the information that an agricultural laborer of Cambrian, could earn 5d. a day the year round, and his diet, worth 8d. more. Women in Devon, he thinks, could earn their diet worth 18d. a week, & 6d. a week wages. pp. 225-6.

Proved by wages.

Wages in Devon in 1788.

According to a table drawn up by Gregory King, entitled a "Scheme of the Income & Expence of the several families in England for the year 1688," there were then in England 364,000 families of laboring people and out-servants, averaging 3½ to a family — No. of persons, 1,195,000 — yearly income per family £15. Yearly income per head £4-10s. Yearly expences per head £4-12. — Yearly decrease 2s. per head. Whole yearly decrease £127,000. All classes of the population from the peerage down to shop keepers and tradesmen, including 21 classes, are set down as receiving an annual income greater than their

Gregory King's table.

annual expences, while the four classes, composed of common seamen, laboring people and out pensioners, cottagers and paupers, and common soldiers, are represented as receiving an annual income less than their annual expences. The aggregate number of persons composing the 21 highest classes amounts to 2,675,520, and their annual increase of income over expences is £3,023,025. Of the four inferior classes the aggregate number of persons amounts to 2,795,000, and their aggregate annual loss, or debt from their expences surpassing their income, amounts to £562,500. Mr. King groups them as follows, Increasing the wealth of the kingdom, 2,675,520 persons — Decreasing the wealth of the nation, 2,825,000 persons. pp. 228.

Dr. Davenant informs us in 1689, that in time of peace we paid nearly as much to the poor as to the maintenance of the government and for our protection. This "great political writer" says "If the poor were always certain of work and pay for it, they would be glad to quit that restless vicious attendant a begging & lazy life. He lays down as an undeniable truth that where all work nobody will want, and to promote work is a greater charity than to build hospitals, which often are monuments of ill gotten riches attended with late repentance. p. 232.

Poor equal to all other expences of government.

He lays before the public a scheme for setting the poor to work, composed by a gentleman of great abilities, and laid before the House of Commons, in 1698, which he enforces. He then proposes that a

Eden: "State of the Poor in England."

company to be incorporated by the title of the "Governor and Company for Maintaining & Employing the Poor of this Kingdom". The company was to consist of such persons as shall subscribe & pay £300,000, as a stock and was to last 21 years. To the £300,000 was to be added the Poor Rates for a certain number of years, which together would form "a very good fund for buying commodities and material for a million of money at any time." This company was thus for 21 years to run the pauper system of England, were to work & support the poor, and have any profit which might accrue. Dunnard justly remarking that nothing goes well in this country in which particular men do not find their account, and that rather than that the public good should not go on at all, it is better to give private men some interest to set it forward. The details of the scheme are set forth at great length, but it does not appear to have been accepted by the government. pp. 234-243.

Dunnavile scheme for settling the poor to work on speculation.

1696 Locke's plan.

In 1696, the celebrated John Locke, one of the original commissioners of the Board of Trade, to whom the subject had been referred, drew up a report on a proper method for employing the poor, which was presented to the Lords Justices of the Kingdom. He premises that the multiplying of the Poor and the increase of taxes for their maintenance are facts which cannot be doubted, that they have been a growing burden on the kingdom for many years, that the evil

Poor increasing.

it not caused by the scarcity of provisions, nor want of employment since God has blest those times with plenty. It is caused by the relaxation of discipline and the corruption of manners. He thinks that more than half who receive parish relief are able to get their livelihood. He recommended enforcing existing laws in respect to vagabonds and to take away all pretence of being ill for want of work. He proposed that any one who complained of want of work and was willing to work at a lower rate than was usually given in his Parish, which rate was to be regulated by the guardians, and no one would accept such person's offer, then a list of the inhabitants should be made out and each, in turn, be obliged to employ the poor man at the appointed wages. He also proposed that working schools should be set up in each parish that the materials employed in them should be provided by a common stock to be raised out of the Poor Rate. That a store keeper appointed by the Guardians to purchase and deliver out wool and the other materials, these materials to be distributed at the schools, or to poor people, who were to receive what the owner & store keeper should agree upon for working them up. He further proposed that children between 3 & 14 years of age of all who demanded relief from the Parish, should attend these working schools. Bread, and in cold weather, water gruel, prepared by the fire in the school room, was to be distributed to them. The handicraftsmen in each hundred were to be obliged to take every other of their apprentices from among these boys, at the age they

Half the paupers could support themselves.

Parishioners forced to employ the poor.

Working-Schools.

Children must attend.

Bread & water gruel in school.

trades men must take them apprentice.

forced, & to be bound to them till the age of 23, & that the holders might have each a boy for his apprentice in husbandry on the same conditions. The remaining boys should be begged by the guardians to such land holders of the hundred as held the greatest number of acres, who should be obliged to take these for apprentices, & bind them out at their own cost. Poor people, not able to work, where there were no hospitals to receive them, were to be lodged 3 or 4 or more, in one room, where one fire and one attendant might serve them, with less charge than when they lived scatteringly. These were the principal heads of Mr. Locke's plan and Eden says that many of the suggestions formed the basis of the plan which at the time of his writing, (about 1794,) were under discussion for enforcing and amending the Poor Laws, and he adds that probably a law framed in conformity with them would have been enacted but for the altercations between King William and his Parliament.

Locke's plan the basis of bill of 1695.

In 1705, Mr. Locke introduced into the House of Commons a bill in conformity with his Report, but it did not become a law. One of the clauses of it was that the Overseers put out the poor to work, and that the poor refusing to work, be whipped, & put in hard labor in the House of Correction for a period not exceeding 20 days. p 243-248.

In 1695, a Pamphlet was published, entitled "Bread for the Poor", by R. D. apparently Richard Dunning.

Dunning's

a writer noticed under the year 1686. He complains that in some parishes of Devonshire, the Poor charges had advanced from 40s to £40. a year, & were likely soon to double. He ascribes the increase of the Poor Rates first to profligacy & idleness — says that the money spent for ale & brandy in small country shops and in houses, expends to a vast increased sum, as the payments for excise show: — that small part of this is spent by travellers or rate-payers, & that the Vestry poor seldom think of other than the cheapest ale house liquor. It appears by this and that they eat bread of the great wheat price. It appears by this that money was given to the poor, instead of this, Dunning proposes that they should be provided with meat, drink, clothes. He also recommends lodging them, and that their daily food be proportioned to the age, sex, and other circumstances of each.

Poor rates increasing from 40s to £40

Food in stead of money

" lodging.

The allowance given to the Parish-poor, he says, is three times as much as an honest labourer who supports his wife and three children can afford for himself. He computes the earnings & outgoings of a Devon-day farm labourer as follows: Yearly gains 5s 6d. Expences 2s 7d. it including loss of work through bad weather, holidays, sickness &c, which would absorb far more than the old penny. Mr. Eden thinks this is a correct estimate. Sir Walter Raleigh estimates thus at about the same time, much higher, at 8 - 6 a year, in the clothing counties, and probably refers to manufacturing labour.

Farm labourer's pay.

Gregory King's estimate, in 1688., of the earnings of a family

Wages in middlesex

of [illegible] a [illegible] at 2 13, a year. But the wages of labourers in Middlesex is much higher than in the distant counties of England, or in Scotland.

Another cause of the increased expense of the Poor, he says, is their living in separate houses, one family living in a house large enough for three, – the same fire, candle-light, attendance which now serves one, might serve three or four, and in many particulars they might assist, help and comfort one another, only their unwillingness to have their idleness, filching, profuseness in tick, discovered, makes them extreme averse against such cohabiting. pp. 249-253.

Proposes to lump several families together.

[His plan would break up the family system, Instead of comforting each other, they would quarrel.]

John Carey, a writer on the same subject (1695-1700,) like Dunning, ascribes the increase of the Poor Rates, to the idleness of the poor, but recommends workhouses, in which the poor may be employed in beating hemp, tossing a spinning jenny, or in carding & spinning wool and cotton; – that the young be apprenticed, and for those of elder years who would beg rather than work, he would send them to sea, either in the Kings or merchant ships, – "the sea, he says, is very good to cure sore legs and arms, especially such as are counterfeits; against which the capstern, with the taunts of the sailors, is a certain remedy".

Carey, 1695-1700

poor-idle,

" work-houses

Would send them to sea,

" cure sore legs.

The Poor Rates were very unequal in different parishes of the same city. In the out-parishes, or

Poor can migrate in seeking parishes.

subsidy, where works of various kinds are carried on, the Poor congregated because they could get work, and when sick fell on those parishes, and were a burden to people only one degree above themselves. The heavy poor rate kept rich people out of those parishes, and in parishes where the rich mostly lived, the poor-rate was comparatively low.

Carey on increase the work-house.

By the 7th & 8th of William the 3rd, all the parishes of Bristol were made to support the poor in common. By Carey's scheme, work-houses were erected throughout the reign of William and Anne. pp. 6 & 7.

De Foe 1704 Alms-no charity.

De Foe, in 1704, published an essay to Parliament entitled "Giving Alms no Charity." In the Collection of pamphlets concerning the Poor published in 1705 he lays down the following heads. There is more labor than hands to perform it. No sound man can be poor for want of work. All work houses &c, as now managed, and places to employ the poor, with certain exceptions, are public nuisances. That the poor want regulation and not setting to work. He recommends

Poor, take made for diers.

taking the able bodied poor, soldiers - and say that malefactors & prison-robbers, cheaters and house cheaters, take from the gallows, disgrace the army. pp. 2 &c.

Leslie would a gain quite the poor on the church.

Leslie, in his Essay on the "Ancient Right of Tithes," published in the Origin of Land-Rents, after Edmund Burke the poor before the Reformation were maintained by the clergy, proposed as a remedy against increasing Poor Rates that Elizabeth & a million a year, & put on the poor on more on the Church lands & tithes. p. 1 &c.

Eden's "State of the Poor in England."

1724. In the 7th of George 1st, 1724, it is provided for the general establishment of work houses, and for contracts for lodging and keeping, or boarding poor persons, and many parishes availed themselves of the Act. A publication of 1725 says that this method was approved throughout the kingdom. p. 267.

Work houses established.

St. Giles. The work house of St. Giles in the Fields, was opened 1726. Its expences for the year ending April 18th, 1727, were £903-18s-3½d. Of this was paid for meat £180- Bread & flour £321- Milk £59.- Beer £161.- p. 270.

Meat £180. Beer £161. Milk £59.

Mandeville, in his Fable of the Bees, opposes Charity Schools, as going to school in comparison to nothing is idleness, for among the labouring people, the least reflected and most useful are those who being born and bred, submit to the station with cheerfulness and are willing that their children should succeed, to the same condition. (p. 81) Eden. pp. 286 7.

Mandeville opposes schools for the poor.

[The above remark represents the prevailing sentiment of the age, and of all previous ages — they should be kept in their place and should be cheerful in it. There was no recognition of the right of the lower classes to rise from their condition. I think Shakespeare, who puts appropriate sentiments into the mouths of each of his characters, has no character who recognizes this right, but he has abundance of characters who talk of the "baser sort" "mechanical, salt-butter-rogues" & the like, and near the end of the last century,

Classes have no rights. (Hannah More.)

probably about the time of the French revolution, Jane Taylor*, who, on this subject, was the mouth piece of the rich, writes,

It was honest John Tompkins, the hedger & ditcher,
Although he was poor, didn't want to be richer,
For all these vain wishes in him were prevented,
By the fortunate habit of being contented.

One might almost say that this country was discovered to teach & practice a sentiment just the reverse. First, equal rights to all; second that each, while making the best of a low, or humble condition, should constantly be striving, by every honest means, to rise above it.

At Bedford (about 1793) the food of the work house family was better, than that of the most industrious labourers. Breakfast, bread & cheese in winter, and both in other days. Dinner boiled beef & suet pudding, varied with mutton all the week, baked pudding & milk porridge on Saturday. Supper the same as breakfast. Their drink is beer from the public brew house, at 3 half pence per gallon. A cow is sometimes kept on the Common for milk. p. 286.

Work-house diet.

It appears from the 6th of George, 2nd, that the laws were not sufficient to prevent great charges arising from bastards. p. 287.

Bastardy.

1747 By the 20th of George 2nd, Justices were still empow

*"Original Hymns for Infant Minds."

Eden's "State of the Poor in England."

Magistrates fix wages.

forced to fix the rate of wages, from year to year, & to determine all differences between masters and servants.

Mr. Hay, M.C.

"Settlement,

In 1783, Mr. Hay, M.C., published "Remarks on the Poor Laws, containing Observations on the Settlement Code". He forcibly reprobates a system which abridges a poor man of his liberty, from fear of his becoming chargeable. It is true that the Certificate act is some relief, but Mr. Hay remarked that the law leaves it in the breast of the Parish officers, whether a certificate shall be granted or not. p. 296.

Effect of Settlement Code.

"A poor man is no sooner got into a neighborhood and employment that he likes, but upon humor or caprice, he is sent to another place, where he can find none of those conveniences; not certain long to continue there; for perhaps, after the appeal, he is sent back again, and then hurried to a third place; and sometimes is a great while before he knows where he shall be at rest. In the meantime, he is at expence in removing his family and goods; or, perhaps, not able to carry them with him, is forced to sell them at a disadvantage; he loses his time, and is obliged to neglect his work, which is his only support; so that 'tis no wonder if by this treatment he is very much impoverished; and, from being only likely to become chargeable, is made actually so." [Hay] p. 297.

By the 17th George 2nd. (1744) and subsequent vagrant

3 Classes and disorderly persons. — rogues & vagabonds and incorrigible rogues.

ate, these descriptions of offenders are specified, viz. 1st idle and disorderly persons, — rogues & vagabonds and incorrigible rogues. The idle and disorderly are punishable with solitary one month's imprisonment: such are,

1st. Persons threatening to run away and leave their families on the Parish.

2nd. Persons who tipple in ale houses without making a sufficient provision for their families.

3rd Persons who unlawfully return to the Parish from which they have been removed without bringing a certificate.

4th. Persons who not having wherewithal to maintain themselves, live idly & refuse to work for the usual wages.

5th. Persons begging in the street.

Rogues and vagabonds are punishable with whipping and six months imprisonment, and are divided thus.

1. Persons going about as patent gatherers, or gatherers of alms, under pretence of loss by fire &c.

2nd. Fencers, bear wards, strolling players &c.

3rd. Minstrels, (except those licenced by the Lord Dutton in Cheshire).

4th. "Persons pretending to be, and wandering in the habit of gypsies. Note. [The statutes against gypsies were formerly very severe, especially those of Philip & Mary & Elizabeth. At one Suffolk Assizes, no less than 13 gypsies were executed upon these statutes, a few days after the Restoration." [Blackstone's Commentary, 4th 4-106.]

5th. Fortune tellers.

6th. Persons playing or betting at any unlawful games.

7th. Persons who run away and leave their families

on the Parish.

Sellers of goods. 8th. Chapmen & pedlars without licence.

9th. Persons lodging in ale houses, out houses, or the open air and can give no good account of themselves.

10th. Those pretending to go to work in harvest without Parish Certificates.

12th. Those having implements of house breaking, or offensive weapons, with felonious intent.

13th. Persons concerned in illegal lottery transactions.

Incorrigible rogues are punishable with 2 years imprisonment, and are

1st. End gatherers, who buy, collect, or receive ends of yarn in the woolen branch, against the statute.

2nd. Rogues & vagabonds escaped after being apprehended, or who refuse to be examined by a magistrate.

3rd. Those who shall escape out of any house of correction.

4th. Those who not being punished as rogues & vagabonds, commit the same offence. pp. 307 - 310.

In 1771, was published anonymously, "Considerations on Several Proposals for the Better Maintenance of the Poor". The author remarks that the nation was divided, when the counties were divided into hundreds, & the hundreds into decennaries, and every man of the decennary was answerable for the rest, and no man might depart from his dwelling without consent of the rest, follows. p. 311.

Licensing

Each inhabitant

In 1753, the Poor Laws seem to have attracted very

133 English and French compared. French the English.

general attention, both in and out of Parliament, & the same year the ingenious author of the Esprit des Loix, observes that notwithstanding the plentiful provision for the poor in France, there was a general complaint of the increase of beggars & vagrants, and several memorials were presented to the ministry, proposing to adopt the English methods with the poor. At the same time Lord Kames remarks, that it was a curious fact that the people of London, dissatisfied with their own methods, were writing pamphlets in praise of the French. p. 318.

Fielding. 1751. vagabonds seeking work.

The late Henry Fielding in 1751, published an "Enquiry into the causes of the late increase of robberies." He remarks in it that a great number of the poor who are, or ought to be in Bridewell, do not properly belong to the County, (Middlesex) but are vagabonds from all parts of the Kingdom, allured from their homes by the hopes of labour, and the encouragement which London holds out to beggars & thieves. p. 317.

His publication exhibits both the knowledge of the magistrate, and the energy & expression of the novel writer. "That the poor are a very great burden" he says, "that the laws for relieving & restraining them have not answered the purpose, and that they are at present very ill provided for, and much worse governed, are truths which I believe every man will acknowledge. Such have been the complaints from the days of Queen Elizabeth, & such is now the universal voice of the nation. Every man

Laws & government bad from Eliz. bethdown.

Eden's "State of the Poor in England."

who hath any property, must feel the weight of the tax, levied for the use of the poor, and every man of any understanding must see how abundantly it is applied. In fact it is a question whether the Poor or the Rich have the more reason to be dissatisfied, since the plunder of the one serves so little to the other, for while a million is yearly raised among the rich, many of the poor are starved. Many more languish in want, or of the rest, many are found begging or pilfering to-day, and to morrow locked up in gaols. The sufferings of the poor are indeed less observed than their misdeeds, and this is the true reason why we hear them so often mentioned with abhorrence, and so seldom with pity. They starve and freeze and rot among themselves, but they beg & steal & rot among their betters."

Poor abhorred by the rich & why.

p. 320 - 327 - 328 - 329.

Bill for abandoning till 24 — after for till 21.

Respecting apprentices the Act of 7. Geo. 3. ch. 39. (1767) (+1768) very judiciously remarks, that it often disturbs the peace of domestic life, checks marriage, and discourages industry, to place out boys to the age of 24 years; & enacts that, for the future, parish officers shall be at liberty to bind out boys and girls apprentices for the term of seven years, or till they attain the age of 21 years and no longer.

p. 338.

Work houses diminished poor rates.

The work houses, in their first establishment, effected a great reduction in expences of the poor by deterring them from making application. They would not

severity 116 to 20

work while they received a weekly allowance. At first, on opening the work house, the poor were satisfied that outdoor pensions would cease, and such as were unable to maintain themselves and families might apply to the work house. The result was that though before the opening of the houses, 116 persons received a parish allowance, not above 8 came in at first, and in the next winter, 1797-8 the number never exceeded 20, though a winter of scarcity. p. 283.

Wakefield

At Wakefield, the poor were maintained at less than half the expence at the work house. Great numbers of lazy people, rather than submit to the confinement of the work-house, were content to throw off the mask, and maintain themselves by their own industry. Abst 1797 8.) p. 284.

lazy folks to work.

Burns.

Burns, in his Justice says, "the office of an overseer of the poor, seems to be understood to be this: to keep an extraordinary lookout to prevent persons coming to inhabit without certificate, to get the justices to remove them; if a man brings a certificate then not to let him get a farm of £10. a year, - to take care to keep him out of parish offices, - to warn people to hire servants by the month, or any other way than by the year, or if they do hire them by the year, then to pick a quarrel with them before the end of it, and so get rid of them to prevent their gaining a settlement." Eden. p. 297.

his idea of an overseer seems to be to protect the rich from the poor.

Among the alterations which have taken place in the Poor-Laws of late, may be noticed the Act of 1775, a-

No cottage without 4 Acres.

against erecting cottages unless 4 Acres of land were laid to each cottage. Indeed there does not seem to be much danger at present of cottages becoming too numerous, p. 361.

In putting out the poor, the overseers contrived to contract with persons of savage dispositions, - not with a view to make the poor more comfortable, but to hold out to savage men, who would not acquiesce in the small parish pittance, - the 22nd. of Geo. 3d. speaks therefore so much of the 43d of George 3d, as empowers parish officers to maintain and employ the poor by contract. -

[Previous to 1825, some of the poor were, in some at least terms, of Massa, put out by contract. About 1820, I saw an insane pauper in Chelmsford, Mass. who had runaway from the farmer, who had taken him to board, whipped on his naked back till the blood came, & then forced him into the ash hole, which happened to be large enough, by way of punishment. This punishment of course, was not authorized by law, but ever since the poor have been poor, such illegal punishments have always been inflicted on them by the classes above them with impunity. The Massachusetts custom of putting out the poor on contract, was the result of an old English tradition, not then obsolete. At the same house as above, I saw an insane pauper woman shut in a back room, children being allowed to insult and imposse upon her with impunity, by way of amusement.]

insane in Massachusetts.

Poor rates smaller than other expences in 1786.

From the Parliamentary Returns in 1786, it is evident that the poor rates have not kept pace with other branches of national expenditure, as may be ascertained from the value of corn expected at different periods since the Revolution. See table which follows. (p. 40.)

Villeinage in Scotland, 1783.

Mining was, and perhaps is, more injurious to the persons employed in it, than almost any other occupation. The reader will perhaps be surprised that this state of servitude actually existed not longer than 12 years ago. It appears from the language of the Legislature that a miner, in the northern parts of G. Britain, was as much transferable property as a villein regardant.

Grounds for act of Emancipation.

"Whereas by the Statute Law of Scotland, many colliers & salters are in a state of slavery & bondage, bound to the collieries & salt works where they work for life, transferable with the collieries & salt works, when their original masters have no further use for them; & whereas persons are discouraged & prevented from the learning of the arts, by their learning bound to those works for life, where they shall work for the space of one year, by means of which there are not a sufficient number of colliers, coal bearers, & salters in Scotland; & whereas the emancipating the colliers &c. in Scotland, now in a state of servitude, gradually, and upon reasonable conditions, and withholding them from this servitude would increase the number of colliers, and would remove the reproach of allowing such a state of servitude to exist in a free

country, &c.

Before the passing of this Act, Mr. Pennant remarked that in Scotland these people were the property of their landlords, appurtenances to their estates, & transferable with them. He adds even strangers who come to settle there are bound by the same cruel custom unless they previously stipulated to the contrary. Should the works stop for a time, & the laborers remove, they were liable to be recalled at will, and forced to return on severe penalties. Tour in Scotland, Ed. 1776. 2nd part. p. 203. — Eden. p. 417-8.

Repeal of Act of law not regarded.

[The above is one of the many instances of laws specially relating to the poor, and to their disadvantage, practically remaining in force long after their repeal, just as banks of snow in remote & shaded places sometimes do not wholly disappear until the arrival of summer weather.]

Abuse of children in cotton mills not noticed till 1795.

It would appear from the following quotations that the evil inflicted on young children by working them in cotton mills, at too early an age, and too many hours in the day, with their attendant injuries to body & mind, did not attract public attention in England till 1795. The ready communication of contagion, the accession of virulence from putrid effluvia, and injury done to young persons through confinement & too long continued labor, are evils which we have lately heard ascribed to cotton mills. So these must

Work all night.

be added the custom of obliging a part of the children employed there to work all night.

Gisborne "Enquiry into the Duties of Men" &c, Ed. 1795.

Gisborne. 2nd, p. 350. Eden. p. 421.

Dr. Aikin.

Says Dr. Aikin.

"In the cotton mills, children are employed, of tender age, many of them collected from the work houses in London & Westminster, and transported in crowds as apprentices to masters, resident many hundred miles distant, where they are unknown, unprotected, and practised by those to whose care nature & the laws had consigned them. These children are usually too long confined to work in close rooms, often during the whole night." Dr. Aikin then speaks of the bad air, want of cleanliness, frequent changes from warm to cold atmosphere, as predisposing causes to sickness, and particularly to epidemic fever. The females are wholly unintitled in sewing, and other domestic affairs, and the indecorum notorious in these buildings is very unfavorable to their future conduct in life. Dr. Aikin's "Description of the country round Manchester, 1795.- 4to. p. 219.

Dr. Aikin.

Crowds of children sent hundreds of miles.

Kept silent by terror.

Mr. Gisborne also says that the children are generally kept in a sort of confinement, which in a great measure prevents them from lodging complaints, which we know from indisputable authority that severe punishments have been inflicted on such as have found means of complaining. "Enquiry" &c, 2nd- 379.

He adds that this subject demands the pro-

Eden's "State of the Poor in England."

Legislation needed.

Letting influence of the Legislature.

Eden. p.

It seems that the paradoxes of Mandeville, author of the Fable of the Bees, were not without currency in England, as late as 1795, in which year, his essay on Charity School was published. In this essay, he puts forth the opinion that reading, writing and arithmetic are very injurious to those whose condition has no dependence on these arts, & who are used to get their daily bread by their daily labor, an opinion which Eden thought it worth while to endeavor.

Adam Smith's fears of the school.

Adam Smith, he says, proposes on very much a subject a little school, where children may be taught at least reading, writing & accounts for a reward so moderate that even a common laborer may afford to pay it. Smith would have the public pay the master partly but not wholly, because if wholly paid by the public, it was to be feared he would soon learn to neglect his business.

Eden. p. 427-8.

Eden says

5th Eliz. 7 years apprenticeship required.

If the suspicious spirit of modern liberty view with a jealous eye, the most distant idea of a government interfering to make the education of the poor a public concern, we cannot but wonder it has so long endured the interference of the Legislature not only in this country but in most parts of Europe, in regard to apprenticeship. By the statute of apprenticeship, 5th Eliz. 1563, no person could exercise any trade unless he had

served an apprenticeship of 7 years. The learned Commentator on the laws of England. [Blackstone ?] says the law has been looked upon as a hard, or a beneficial one according to the inquiring humor of the times, and attempts have been frequently made for its repeal but without success.

Attempts to repeal it.

Of the legal requirements under this law of apprenticeship in England, the following is a specimen,

The King versus Plume.

Plume was indicted under the 5th of Elizabeth, for that he had set up the trade of a cutler, to which he was not brought up, by the space of seven years. It was moved for Plume that the statute did not extend to every trade, but to such as require art & skill, & therefore put to a hemp dresser, not a pipe-maker, and it hath been resolved that a gardener is not within the stat. in the 14th of Queen Elizabeth.

Case of Plume

On the other hand it was said that the trade of a cutler is well known, they are incorporated in London, and there requires much skill in sorting of knives & in judging the durableness thereof. Serjeant, the justice, & Fenner, inclined to the opinion that it was a mystery within the statute, there being great art in choosing the time & rather and reserve thereof, and that, the cause deserved the more consideration for that the cutlers were an ancient corporation in London, from the time of Edward the 4th. Ruled to be within the stat.

Cutlers declared under the stat.

Jones and Pemberton seem to be of another opinion. "For it would be very inconvenient to make every one

that sells fruit by the pennyworth within the Act, et majus et minus would make no odds. Brewers & bakers require skill and yet are not within the Act. 2 Vent. I-346.
Eden, p. 431.

Evils of long apprenticeship.

It has justly been remarked that the institution of long apprenticeship has no tendency to encourage people to industry. A young man naturally conceives an aversion to labor, when for a long time he receives no benefit from it. Smith's Wealth of Nations, 5th Ed. I-189- Eden, p. 433.

Extends now only to neighbouring towns.

The statute of Elizabeth, however, has by the subtle refinements of courts, in this instance, favorable to the free exertion of industry, been interpreted to extend only to cities and market towns. I am persuaded whenever a fair opportunity offers, the Legislature will do away with the hardships and restraints which this law imposes on industry. p. 433.

Harrison, the Watch-maker case.

In the case of French, qui tam, vs Adams, the fact is quoted that Mr. Harrison, (John) of Red Lion Square, served an apprenticeship to a carpenter, but for 26 yrs, he hath been a watch maker, and though he never served an apprenticeship to the trade, is the best maker of time-pieces in the world, and the Parliament has given him £5000. towards finding out the Longitude by his watches, or time-measures. p. 433.

Best work done out of towns.

Adam Smith in regard to the lay of apprenticeship being confined to market towns says that in many large towns, no tolerable workmen are to be found in some of the most necessary trades, if one would have your work well done, it must be done in the suburbs where workmen having no exclusive privilege, have nothing but their character to depend on, and you must then smuggle it into town as well as you can. Wealth of Nations, vol. 1st, p. 201.

Eden, p. 436.

English people give as much by voluntary tax as they will be taxed by law.

Mr. Eden thinks that so great is the charitableness of the English people, that they give to the poor as much voluntarily as they pay by taxation. "The liberal never coming themselves to the mere existence of the sum, so much the modest and dejected poor will willingly have recourse, although they would prefer languishing or perhaps hanging to the alternative of being immured by law, in what Sir William Young calls a "jail without guilt", in which the innocent are often obliged to associate with the idle & licentious. p. 457.

Jail without guilt = work houses.

Fox says working people at the mercy of the rich.

Mr. Fox, in the course of the last sessions of Parliament, [in the debate on the high price of grain, Nov. 3rd, 1795] said that it was a matter of considerable consideration that the greater part of the working classes in this country were living at the mercy or almost living on the charity of the rich. p. 458.

In the South of England, the poorest laborers are hard

Eden's "State of the Poor in England."

N. of England poor, bread, cheese, & tea.

cold is the morning meal of dry bread & cheese from week's end to week's end, and those families who cannot indulge in small liquor, the delicious produce of China is their general beverage. 496.

If a laborer is able to afford himself meat once a week, he commonly roasts it, or if he lives near a baker, has it baked. p. 497.

N. of England. Hasty pudding.

In the north of England and in Scotland & Wales, on the contrary, the poorest laborer can afford a variety unknown to that class in the south. I shall mention some of their dishes. Hasty pudding is one of the simplest. It is made of oat-meal, water & salt, boiled. It is eaten with a little milk or beer poured upon it, or with butter, or a little treacle. p. 497.

Crowdie.

Crowdie consists of pouring boiling water over oat meal, and stirring it a little. There is another kind of crowdie made by pouring boiling broth on oat meal. After stirring, a piece of fat is taken from the broth and put in. This dish is accounted a great luxury by Scottish laborers. p. 498.

Frumenty.

Frumenty, or barley milk is barley with the husks taken off, boiled in water, mixed with skimmed milk, sometimes a little sugar. p. 499.

Knocked-beat.

Knocked-beat is barley moistened with water & beaten in a mortar. p. 500.

Enough Bread made for 6 months.

"From 15 to 40 bushels of oats are made into meal at one time, according to the number of the family, but enough to serve them from three to six months. The refuse which remains after sifting is used for sowens, or flummery. Pease-bait is made by boiling pease soft, pouring off the water and adding milk. Potatoes are likewise used in the north." p. 501.

Scotland oat meal & barley meal.

"Many poor in Scotland live, and that very comfortably, for months together upon oat meal, and barley meal, mixed with only water & salt, with no other supply than the produce of their farms & the wages of their, potatoes, flummery & gruel, with now & then a peck of malt, converted into beer, they think themselves luxuriously provided for." p. 503.

Potatoes Highlands

"In the Central Highlands, potatoes are become the principal food, and are thought the greatest blessing of modern times." p. 505.

Barley bread.

"In Cumberland, bread is generally of barley. Three bushels are made into bread at once. It will keep good 4 or 5 weeks in winter & two or three in summer." p. 510.

Liquor to day labourers.

"It is much to be lamented that a very pernicious custom prevails in this county as well as in many others of allowing labourers an enormous quantity of liquor; - the more liquor, the less wages. The labourer often receives as much liquor as is equal to his days pay." p. 511.

Common people in Sweden make their bread but once

or twice a year. It consists of rye, mixed with rats. It is made into cakes, the size of a plate; a hole is made in the middle and they are hung up by hundreds in the cottage, a strong string passed through the hole. In times of scarcity, birch bark is added to the rye meal. p. 514.

Bread in Sweden.

Birch bark meal.

The lowest peasant in England eats his meal at a table, covered with a cloth, sitting with his family, — perhaps one of the strongest characteristics of civilization. The same is partly the case with the negroes of Virginia. There is particular force in the phrase, A mensa et thoro, in the articles of separation between man & wife. These terms are not applicable to Virginia negroes. p. 524.

Poorest English eat at table.

[Comparatively few Haytian women have yet reached this point of civilization. All through the country they have to sit down in the doorway with a plate of food which they convey to their mouths sometimes with a spoon, but oftener with their fingers.]

Degree not.

Haytians.

Stone walls were formerly more used in England than at present. In a tract printed in 1667, entitled Good News for the Poor &c, we are told, "of the poorer sort cow dung mixed with saw dust and small coal, made up into balls and dried, make very good fewell, but something noisome." p. 550.

Dry balls for fuel.

Balls of small coal, mixed with clay, are very much used all over South Wales. p. 552.

Clothes near London by cast off.

Near London, working people seldom buy new clothes; they buy cast off clothes & cast coloured stuff, & shift every year. In the South & Midland counties, wooden shoes are in the shops. In the North, linen cloth is home made. p. 524 n.

Hide excise.

In the Highlands, every peasant makes his shoes of leather of his own tanning. It is to be lamented that after two or three Highland villages have owned a, either in purchasing and teasing a hide, one of them should often be obliged to pass two or three days in going 20 or 30 miles to inform an excise officer of it, & pay him the duty, or run the risk of fine & imprisonment besides forfeiting the hide. p. 558.

Rye bread much eaten.

As late as the beginning of the present reign, - 1760, - it appears from the supplement to Chew Tracts on the Corn Trade," that above one third of the nation eat bread made of rye, oats, or barley. This well informed author says, "Bread made of wheat is much more eaten by the common people since 1689 than before, but it is still far from being their common food, and the best informed inquirers incline to the opinion that, in 1764, one half the people did not eat wheaten bread. p. 562.

About 1750, in Cumberland, only a rich family used a peck of wheat a year, and that at Christmas. The crust of a Christmas goose pie, was made of barley meal. Wheat is now getting into very general use, but the use

Barley bread in Cumberland in wheat. "Very few days" is not yet excluded wholly from Christmas are. 1st Ed labour of 83, told me when a boy at Bigle Market, he wished to subsist himself with a wheaten in wheat. for my loaf, but could not purchase one in the town. 564.

1661. day wages in Essex. In 1661, the daily pay of labourers in Essex, as rated by the justices, was, in summer with diet 8d. - without diet 14d. In winter with diet 6d. without, 12d.

1682 - Wages in Suffolk. In 1682, in Suffolk, at Justices rate, in summer with diet 6d. - without 12d. - In winter with diet 12d. - without 16d; In 1688, the ordinary income of labourers & servants was estimated by Gregory King for each family of 3½ persons, at £2 15. In 1698, the full weekly wages of a Dorsetshire labourer was 2s 8d. In 1723, the daily pay of the best husbandry labourer in Lancashire, as rated by the justices, was in summer, without diet, 6d. with, 12d. winter, with diet 5d - without 10d. p. 565.

Dorsetshire

Bedfordshire

In 1795, day labourers wages were as follows, Bedfordshire, 14d. with small beer. -

In Cumberland, constant wages in harvest are 18d. In 1740, in Cumberland, daily wages of farm labourers in summer from Martinmas to Christmas, were 3d. with victuals. & 4d. with victuals in summer; Reaping was 6d. a day & dinner, or 4d. & the days diet. Women earned 2d. a day & board for weeding, spinning wool, spreading manure &c. A woman hired by the half year,

Cumberland.

had 20s. – Butter was 2d. a pound. Farm wages have risen very slowly till of late years. Women work in reaping & threshing did not exceed 6d. a day & hand mill till after 1765, when they rose to 8d. & years later to 10d. & in 1794, 1s was paid. p. 567.

Gloucestershire.

Gloucestershire. Common day laborer 1s & liquor. – Bread & water, almost the only list of laborers wives & children.

Hertfordshire.

Hertfordshire. In 1755, day laborers got 6s a week and sometimes a woman for picking stones 6d. Girls making hay by the day 4d. Women the acre, 1s 7d. Women weeding – the day, 6d. Women by the week, 8d. a day. Now, 1776, day laborers get 1s 6d. 568.

Huntingdonshire.

Huntingdonshire. Shepherds, 6s a week, other laborers 7s a week – 569.

Leicestershire.

Common wages from 8s to 10s a week without diet.

Lincolnshire.

Lincolnshire. Common wages 2s a day throughout the year. Work can generally be had in winter, in mild weather. In hard frosts, laborers are generally obliged to apply to their parishes. Many laborers wives are paid by the parish. Others have a cow or pig kept for them. p. 570.

Northamptonshire.

Northamptonshire. Common wages, 7s a week, small beer & 1 meal each working day. Roundsmen very common. Old & infirm, who subsist in this way receive 4d. the day from

the parish, & 6d. from the employer. 571.

Northumberland.

Northumberland. In 1733, wages were 4d. a day & diet. In 1755, 6d. a day & diet, - wages continuing much the same several years. In 1795, they had advanced to 2s a day without victuals. An old taylor of 70, says, that about 1733 to 1743, a taylor got 4d. a day with diet. A few years afterwards wages arose to 6d, the highest we ever took for sewing. Common laborers in 1733, barely received 4d a day & victuals. They now, 1795, have 10s. a week, with a house & fuel, but no board. Sawyers of wood in 1763, had 10d a day with diet. Now have, 1795, 4d a day & victuals. Women working in the fields, 1763, 4d a day, with diet:- in 1795, now double that.- Masons in 1755, 1s. 4d - now 2s. 9d.

p. 572.

Oxfordshire.

Oxfordshire.

Common labourers, 8s. a week, & 12s. in harvest, with 3 pints of beer.- Women, 3s. a week, & 6d. in harvest. Children above 7 yrs, from 1 to 3s a week. Each cottage has a potatoe garden. Near Nuneham, Lord Harcourt distributed a considerable quantity of potatoes among the poor, every winter. He also allows such families as behave well, a guinea a year, for every 4th child, till the child, is 10 years old. Poor families also, can send their children to school without expence, & various other charities are bestowed by Lord & Lady H. A man & his wife by reaping may earn £1-7s. a week work may be had during

winter. Fuel is given to most poor families, & they are assisted in other respects by charitable farmers & landlords. No Friendly Societies in the Parish. There is great appearance of poverty. p. 573.

Suffolk.

Suffolk. Within the last year wages have risen from 14d. to beer to 16d. to beer, and most farmers allow their labourers grain at reduced price. p. 573.

Yorkshire.

Yorkshire.

Common wages with diet from Martinmas to Lady day, 11th November to 25th March, 5s a week. From 25th March to Midsummer, 6s. From Midsummer to Michaelmas, 29th Sept. 7s. From 29th Sept. to 11th Nov. 6s. In harvest men receive 12s to 14s a week and victuals. Women 6s & 7s a week, with beer but no meat. Constant employment in winter. Corn to them below the market price. Rents from £1 to £1 10s a year. Many cottages miserable, built of mud & straw. Fuel sometimes granted by the parish to poor families, sometimes with fuel. p. 574.

The following is an abstract of the wages of the poor in several counties in 1793. Eden says there can be little doubt, that the 10 years ending in June, 1793, exhibit the most flattering appearances, in every circumstance, that has been considered, by political economists, as demonstrative of national prosperity.

Great improvement 1783 to 1793.

Little can be inferred as to the condition of the poor from their wages, without knowing at the same time

Eden's "State of the Poor in England."

the cost of the necessaries of life. But the conclusion
Wages insufficient is more clear as to their condition from the fact that
in many instances, they did not earn enough in
support, the year to live without charity in the winter, & therefore were not independent.]

The poor rate had rapidly advanced during the last
few years, previous to 1795, showing that the various
rates of labor just given did not support the poor.
In other words instead of advancing the wages of la-
bor, the employers paid in taxation for the poor-rate,
that which they ought to have paid to the poor in wages,
thus in taxes. This Mr. Eden admits was a deplorable evil which had
been heavier on the poor than on the rich. Many
instances might be given of the ill effects of indis-
criminating charity, and the no less ill effects of a
discriminating intolerance between magistrates & parish
officers. I shall content myself with offering a
short statement of what took place in a single
county for the relief of the poor last year, 1795.

The great dearness of the necessaries of life,
says my informant, but more particularly bread corn,
during 1794, brought great demands for parochial
assistance in Berks. Relief from the Poor Rates was
granted not only to the impotent but to the able
bodied & industrious. A meeting of the magistrates
in the county was held about October, 1795. The first plan proposed
was that the magistrates should fix the lowest price
of bread, to be given for labor, as they were empowered to do by

the 5th. Elizabeth, that is the Act of 1563. This plan was rejected.

The second plan was that they should not act with uniformity in the relief of the impotent and infirm poor, on a table of minimum prices, corresponding with the supposed necessities of each family. This was adopted, and a table was published on this plan as a rule, for the information of magistrates & overseers. It provided substantially that when the gallon loaf was 1s, a man's weekly wages should be 3s. When the loaf was 1s 4d, his wages should be 3s 2d. with a corresponding increase according to the number of his family. The following two lines are the first and the last out of 15 lines of this table.

Loaf 1s
" 1d
labor 3s a week

Table.

	Some single men, & a man.	For a single woman	For a man & his wife	With 1 child.	With 2 children.	With 3 children.	With 4 children.	With 5 children.	With 6 children.	With 7 children.
When the gallon loaf is 1s	s. d. 3-0	s. d. 2-0	s. d. 4-6	s. d. 6-0	s. d. 7-6	s. d. 9-0	s. d. 10-0	s. d. 12-0	s. d. 13-6	s. d. 15-0.
" " " " " 2.	5-0	3-0	7-6	10-0	12-6.	15-0.	17-6.	20-0	22-6.	25-0.

pp. 574.-7.

Vol. 2nd.

Many laborers about Reading have little economy. A young man of a freight. A healthy young man, able to support himself & family, will request the Parish to pay his rent & pay his medicine for his first child. A laborer's wife, for just rearing & supporting himself, wife & 3 children, without ever child. ing for aid.

Weavers earning 18s a week, do not hesitate to

Eden's "State of the Poor in England."

ask relief in slack work, bring difficulties which a little saving might have provided for.

Expences & earnings of a labouring family in the vicinity of Sheafe, Berks, man 50, wife & 7 children, 3 at service, & youngest at home, from 5 to 14. The two oldest of the latter boys, go out to work, driving the plough & some neighbouring farmer. Boys earn 1s 6d a week, through the year. Man in winter earns 8s a week, - summer 12s. Ten days in wheat harvest 3s a day, all together earning about £46. Expences for the year. Bread £36-8s. Cheese £3-8s. Butter £3-18. Sugar, 3s 4s. Tea 19s-6d. Oat meal 6s-6d. Bacon, £3-5s Milk 8s-8d, - Candles, soap, starch, blue &c. £2-4s-4d. House-rent, £2 5s. Fuel, mostly collected, what is bought £1. Shoes £1 &c. Clothes & cloth. £2 10. Other stores, £2 2s. Total annual expences, £63 3s-8d. Total earnings £46. Total deficiency £17-18s-8d. This deficiency is made up by the Poor's or by charity. Rent not paid by the parish clothes & shoes furnished by the charitable. In case of sickness, receives parish relief, besides the parish allows him & other poor persons 1s 6d a week for every child not old enough to work. This family eat bacon boiled, generally once a week. The poor here seldom taste fresh meat. July, 1795. pp. 15-16.

Relative income & outgo of a labouring man.

In Hallingford, Berks, farmers wages from 7s to 8s a week. The farmers, rather than raise wages, prefer allowing labourers provisions at less than selling rates. July, 1795. The poor farmed out at £300. a year, prefer charity.

Farmers won't raise wages

the parish paying doctors' and attorneys' bills. Poor not employed in any manufactures, but such as can, are allowed to go out of the Poor house to work. p. 17. Vol. 2nd.

Winslow. There seems to be here great want of employment. Most laborers are on the round, that is, they go to work from one house to another, round the parish. They are wholly paid by the parish, unless the householders choose to employ them.

1 out of 55 paupers

55 paupers

Of 55 paupers in Winslow, 1 are bastards. The magistrates have lately ordered to raise the earnings of bastard bastards, to certain weekly sums according to the number of their children, which should always be attended to in apportioning parish relief. During the late dear season, the Poor of the Parish went in a body to the justices to complain of their want of bread. The magistrates sent the above order in consequence. 1795 p. 31. [Many cases of this kind in the 2nd volume.]

Vol. 3rd.

The Act of 5th Elizabeth, entitled "An Act containing Divers Orders for Artificers, Laborers, Servants of Husbandry & Apprentices." is found in the Appendix of Vol. 3rd, commencing at p. 153, & ending at p. 167.

By it, Magistrates fix the rate of wages yearly.

Wages fixed by magistrates.

An employer, paying more than the rate, was to be imprisoned 10 days, and was to pay a fine of £5. lawful money. A laborer taking more than the fixed rate, was to be imprisoned 21 days without bail or mainprize.

taking or giving more, fined.

fine.

By the 11th section, no labourer after his term had expired, could leave the place or take service with another, without a testimonial from the authorities declaring his departure lawful, upon a fine of being imprisoned until he procure a testimonial, and if he cannot do this within the 21 days, he shall be whipped or used as a vagabond.

By the 12th section, all hired artificers & labourers, between the months of March & September shall begin work before 5 in the morning, and shall continue till sunset, with 6 or 8 o'clock at night, with not above 2½ hours for breakfast, dinner, or drinking.

Every servant or labourer assaulting his master or mistress was to be imprisoned for a year, or if ordered by a magistrate, whipped.

By section 27, Merchants & could take no apprentices, but such whose parents was possessed of property to the value of 40s.

labourer imprisoned for leaving his employer for another without testimonial

A.D. 1563. Work from 5 to 7 till 6 or 8 o'clock

Whipped for assaulting master,

Merchants & Apprentices parents to have 40s.

=

In the 14th of Elizabeth, [1572] Parliament passed an Act for Punishment of Vagabonds, and for the Relief of Poore & Impotent Persons, and in the 28th of Eliz. [1586] by Act for setting of the Poor to work, and avoiding Idleness, and authority was given to the Justices of the Peace to see that the said Acts were put in execution. Under these Acts, the Justices of the Peace of the County of Suffolk held a meeting in the 31st of Eliza. [1589] and agreed upon certain orders, rules and directions to be

Laws of notice. 1589.

carried out under the same. In the Preamble of these Proceedings, they set forth that it appeareth by daily experience that the number of idle, vagrants, loytering, sturdy rogues, masterless men, lewd and ill-disposed persons are exceedingly increased and multiplied, committing many grievous and outrageous theftes; they therefore order that there shall be builded a provided one convenient house which shall be called the "House of Correction;" That all persons offending against the Acte in the County of Suffolk, be committed thither to be punished, set to worke, & ordered, according to the directions &c. &c. The persons offending are all above the age of 14, using games, or plays, which are unlawful, such as pryst themselves to have knowledge of physiognomy, astrolie &c, all tellers of destiny, death, or fortune, & such like fantastical imaginations.

Masterless men & disorderly, increase.

House of Correction provided.

All persons being mightie, strongs, or whole in bodie, and able to labor, having neither land nor money, nor using any lawful trade of marchandize, mysterie, science, or occupation, whereby he or she may get his or her living, and can give noe reckonings how he or she doth get his or her living. All fencers, bearwards, common players, and minstrels, not belonging to any baron of this realm, or towards any other honorable person, going about without licence, or pretence, pedlars, and tinkers, all petie chapmen, that is sellers of smale wares, linen cloth, aqua-vitae, all buyers of conyskins, not having licence, and such like, all common labourers, able in body, seeing to loyter or live idle, or refusing to work, or serve

Seeking to work at magistrate's wages.

Vagrancy case for such vagrants, as is related by the justices of Bare, all
& offenders counterfeiters of licences & passports, and users of the
described. same, having them to be such, all scholars of Cunnigards,
& Clapperdogs, that go about begging, not being licenced
by the Chancellor & counsellors of those houses, all lusty
men & women, living by begging, the Justices order all
such to be committed to the House of Correction. They
also order that a forrein officer shall be appointed to
go about from town to town, to all fairs, markets &
other places, where offenders resort and commit them
to the said House of Correction.

Among these offenders, there are specified, hedge-
breakers, stealers of poultry & grain, wood stealers,
hedge-breakers & poultry stealers 10 stripes. which is neither felony nor petty larceny, the hedge
breaker & taker of wood for the first offence, to have 6
stripes on entering the House, and for the second offence,
10 stripes; and every ~~every~~ person taker away of victuals
the first offence 10 stripes, and for the second, 18 stripes.

Every lusty & sturdie rogue at his ~~in~~ first entrance,
sturdy rogues 12 stripes & young rogues 6 stripes. shall have 12 stripes on the bare skin, and every young
rogue, or idle loiterer, 6 stripes, and every one shall have
put upon him or her some clog, chain, collar, ringle, or
manacle.

Every inmate must be up at 4 in the summer, &
5 in the winter, come together for prayers, which over,
Prayers. every one shall work as the keeper of the house shall
appoint, and continue at it till 7 at night, without
swearers. intermission, except at meals. Swearing punished by 6
6 stripes. stripes. Every dinner on flesh days, bread made of rye

Lice. Lousiness to be punished.

Lousiness, 1 pint of parridge, 1/4 pound of flesh, and a pint of beer. Harbourers of lousiness to be punished.

All persons being very notorious, infective lousiness, shall not remain at the House of Correction, but there whipped as the Justices shall appoint, and thereupon be conveyed to place of birth, or last residence of three years.

Diseased person whipped.

[It will be noted that among the offenders are those who refuse to work at the assessed rate of wages, and apparently they are among the strong & sturdy, who receive 12 stripes, the highest number given to any class of offenders at first entering.] Vol. 3rd. pp. 136 146.

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Act of 43rd. Eliz.

In the 43rd Elizabeth, c. 2, an Act was passed, Entitled "An Act for the Relief of the Poor."

By this Act, the Overseers of the Poor may take charge of and set to work the children of such persons who shall not be thought able, or fit and shall be wanders and beggers, to keep & maintain their children, &c.

Children set to work.

By Section 5, any two Justices of the Peace were authorized to bind any such children as aforesaid to be apprentices till such man child came to the age of 24 & 20 years, and such woman child to the age of 18 & 20 years, at the marriage. Be it enacted to be as effectual to all purposes as if such child were of full age, and by indenture of covenant bound him or herself.

Children apprenticed till 24 & 21.

Relations obliged to maintain each other.

In Section 7, the father and grandfather, and the mother & grandmother, and the children of every poor, old, blind, lame & impotent person, or other poor person not able

Eden's "State of the Poor in England".

to work, being of a sufficient ability, were obliged, at their own charges, to relieve & maintain them, &c. pp. 167 – 173

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13 & 14 Charles 2nd, 1662.

In the 13th & 14th of Charles 2nd, 1662, an act passed "In aid of the Poor Laws of this Kingdom," the Preamble of which states, "Whereas the necessity, number and continual increase of the poor, not only within the cities of London and Westminster, but also through the whole kingdom of England & dominion of Wales, is very great & exceeding burthensome, being occasioned by reason of some defects in the law concerning the settling of the Poor, and for want of a due provision of the regulation of relief and employment in each parish of those where they are legally settled which doth in part increase many to be idle incorrigible rogues, and those to perish for want, together with the neglect of the further execution of such laws and statutes as have formerly been made for the apprehending of rogues & vagabonds, and for the good of the poor, and whereas by some defects in the law, poor people are not restrained from going from one parish to another, and therefore, to prevent it will be enacted that those parishes where there is the best stock, the largest commons, & power to build cottages, are the most woods for them to burn & destroy; and when they have consumed it, then to another parish, and at last become rogues & vagabonds, &c, it is enacted that any Justice of Peace, within 40 days after any such person coming so to settle as aforesaid, in any tenement un-

Continual increase of the poor in England,

Bad laws the main cause of Rogues;

So much more are the largest commons & camp, & most wood to burn.

40 days settlement clause.

der the yearly value of ten pounds, shall remove & convey such person or persons where he or they were last legally settled, either as a native, householder, inmate, servant, or lodger, or for the space of 40 days at the least, unless he or they give sufficient security for the discharge of the said parish, as be allowed by the said justices....

And if such person or persons refuse to go, or shall not remain in such parish where they ought to be settled as aforesaid, but shall return of his own accord to the Parish from whence he was removed, any justice of the Peace of the city, county or town corporate where the said offence shall be committed, may send such person or persons to the house of correction, there to be punished as a vagabond, or to a public work-house, there to be employed in work, or labour, &c

Ap. 1774-1775.

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act of 8th & 9th William 3rd, 1697.

By an Act, entitled, "An Act for explaining some Defects in the Laws for the Relief of the Poor," of the 8th & 9th William 3rd, 1697, the Preamble sets forth that, many persons are chargeable to the place where they live, merely for want of work, & could maintain themselves & their families in some other place where work is to be had, but that they are not able to give security such as is required upon their coming to another place, and that the certificates usually given in such cases, are often construed into a notice in hand writing, "that they are for the most part confined to their own parishes, & are not permitted to reside elsewhere, though their inter

Poor restrained from seeking work.

is wanted in many other places. It is therefore enacted, that if any person shall come into any parish to reside, he shall deliver to the authorities of the parish he comes to, a certificate from the proper authorities acknowledging the person mentioned in the certificate to be an inhabitant of the parish whence he came, the parish which he shall thus come to, must be obliged to receive him and his family as inhabitants of that parish, and, whenever they shall become chargeable for aid or relief from the, then & not before, they may be removed to the parish whence the certificate was brought.

with certificate may go thither,

must be removed till they chargeable.

And to the end that the money shall not be misapplied, which is raised only for the relief of the impotent, and consumed by sturdy beggars, every person, who shall receive parish relief, shall, upon the shoulder of the right sleeve of the uppermost garment, in a visible manner wear a badge, that is to say, a large Roman P together with the first letter of the name of his Parish, cut either in red or blue cloth, and if the poor person shall refuse to wear the badge, he shall be punished, either by having his relief abridged or withdrawn, or by being committed to the House of Correction, there to be whipped and kept at hard labor, for days not exceeding 21.

Workers refusing to wear badge, refused & imprisoned.

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The Provision by the 43rd. Eliz. by which poor children are apprenticed having failed of execution from

Compelled to receive & provide for apprentices.

doubts whether the persons to whom the children were bound, were compellable to receive them as apprentices, & was enacted by this 8th & 9th Victoria 3rd, that the persons to whom the children were assigned should receive and provide for them as apprentices, under penalty of £10. p. 177-8.

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9th George 1st 1722.

Act of 9th George 1st, 1722, for Amending the Laws relating to the Settlement, Employment & Relief of the Poor.

The 8th Section provides that no person shall gain a settlement in the Parish by purchasing an estate unless the sum paid down amounts to £30, & the 6th provides that no person shall gain a legal settlement by paying scavenger, or highway rates. p. 181.

The settlements under £30.

Scavenger rates.

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22nd George 3rd. 1782.

Act of 22nd George 3rd, 1782, for the Better Relief & Employment of the Poor. The preamble sets forth that, notwithstanding the many laws & great sums raised for the relief & employment of the poor, their distress & suffering and distress are nevertheless very great, & the incapacity, & misconduct & oversight, the money raised for their relief is often misapplied, & sometimes squandered in litigations about settlements, & disorder, & about settlement, & vexatious carried on, & whereas the Act of 9th George 1st, empowering church wardens & overseers to hire & contract with persons for keeping & employing the poor, such provision for the want of proper regulations & due inspection, have not had the desired effect, but

Eden's "State of the Poor in England."

Law
Farming out the poor by contract, repealed, because abused.

the poor instead of finding protection, have been much oppressed thereby, therefore, so much of the 43rd. of the 3rd, repealing the farming out of the labour of the poor by contract, is repealed. p. 183.

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By this Act of 1782, it is provided that if a poor person is detained by sickness in passing through a parish, the guardian of the parish shall provide lodgings for him to be repaid by the guardian where such poor person belongs. The same law applies to the death of strange poor, and nothing in this Act shall be construed to extend or affect the settlement of any person, nor give any to any illegitimate child born in any poor house, where the mother did not belong.

Sick, or pauper, removed.

And whereas, it frequently happens that poor children, pregnant women, or poor persons sick, are conveyed by parish officers from one parish to another, without any legal order of removal, in order to ease one parish & burden another, every person or parish officer so offending shall forfeit a sum not more than 20, nor less than 5 pounds. p. 198.

The Preamble of the 32nd. George 3rd. (1792) sets forth, that whereas, by the 43rd Eliz. the Church wardens & Overseers have a right to bind out poor children apprentices till such man child is 24, and such woman child 21, or married, (See Acts of William 3rd. & George 3rd.) & whereas several other regulations are necessary, it is enacted that

when no more than £5. has been paid, the Apprenticeship shall continue no longer than 3 months in force after the death of the master. p. 210.

The 35th George 3rd. 1795, "to repeal so much of the Act of Settlement, as relates to the removal of Poor Persons, until they become chargeable." This act after recites a citing the 13th & 14th of Charles 2nd, relating to poor people roaming from parish to another, when they can find the most advantageous situation &c. and then the 8th & 9th William 3rd, in regard to poor, & certificates both of which have been found insufficient, repeals so much of those acts as enables Overseers to remove persons likely to become chargeable & provides the removal of persons until they actually become so. p. 231.

The Act then proceeds, that Persons poor persons may often be removed to the place of their settlement in time of sickness to the danger of life, the Justices may prevent this until it can be done with safety. Neither no person will be to obtain a settlement by hiring as yearly notice, nor nor by paying taxes or a tenement of less than £10, a year. Unmarried women, with child, deemed chargeable. Bastards to be deemed of the mother's parish, (just as children of Slave women follow the condition of their mother.) p. 233.

Sick or aged removed. Not a settlement. Bastards (mother

Titles of Acts.

By Act of Edward 3rd, 1360, an able bodied man of 60, with nothing to live on, "must be sworn him that requires him, or be committed to jail. By the same, no person shall give anything to a beggar able to labor.

Man of 60. The Beggars.

Eden's "State of the Poor in England."

wages wrongly. By the same, he that taketh more wages than is accustomably given, shall give the surplusage towards a payment to the King, of a tenth.

found in one place in winter & summer. By law of 1532, in order wages of laborers, & settlement, none could depart from the town in winter & summer, nor, where he dwelt in winter.

By a law of 1362 handicraftsmen could use but one mysterie. This same law regulates the diet & apparel of servants. The that of husbandmen, great men & children. Use that of knights and others of more substance. These that others shall make with consent of the aforesaid price, so that the statute for default of such other be in no wise impaired.

one trade allowed.

Thursbury laws.

servants could not leave. By 12th. Richard 2nd., servants could not depart from one bailiwick to another, without a testimonial under the kings seal, on pain of being set in the stocks. By the same, are described the penalties of giving or taking more wages than is limited by the statute. By the same, lower servants in husbandry until 12 yrs old shall so continue. 240 1.

wages limited.

12 yrs. old

1390- wages assessed. By the 13th Richard 2nd. 1390- rates of wages to be assessed by justice.

1364- apparel regulated. By the 3rd. Edward 4th. 1364- apparel of each vocation, regulated.

These and a very large number of the titles of acts relating to laborers and the poor, extend from p. 240 to p. 277.

The Poor in Ireland.

In the mode adopted for relieving the Poor in Ireland, we have the following short account by Dr. Gisborne. "We have no Poor Laws in this country. Every Sunday a collection is made, from the whole congregation (is with you", in England) for communicants; and the money is given to a list of Poor agreed on by the minister and church warden. Thus Poor in parishioners of the establishment. The number of our rich inventive must mostly keep public and private contributions for the Poor. In particular cases, our Clergy recommend and the Rich give, in proportion to the distress, without regard to religious denominations." Gisborne Enquiry into the Duties of Men in the Higher and Middle Classes of Society. 3rd. Ed. Vol. 2nd. p. 106. — Eden. Vol. 3rd. - 277.

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Of the Poor in Scotland.

Scotch Poor Laws. At p. 278. Eden gives a short account of the laws of Scotland, principally collected, he says, from the Scottish Acts of Parliament, Edinburgh Encyclopedia, Mr. Howard's Enquiries concerning the Poor, & Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland.

Extracts & Abstracts from this Short Account.

The ancient Scottish poor statutes, strongly resemble those enacted in England about the same periods. The earliest statute was passed in 1579. The preamble is it is that beggars be arrested by the sheriff & punished; By

Beggars arrested & punished.

another act of the same Parliament, no beggars between 14 & 70 were allowed, unless it be seen by the authorities "that they may not winne their livinge other waies", and that those licenced to beg shall have a certain token (tokens or badge) on them. Those begging without badges be punished as rogues, for their livinge under pretence of burning on the cheek and vanishing of the countrie.

Those licenced to beg have badges.

In 1424, it was enacted that na lipper-folk, lepers, shall be allowed to come into any borough, but twice in the week, Monday, Wednesday & Friday, from 10 till 2. That na lipper gae it to beg, neither in kirk, nor kirk yard, or other place in the borough, but at their own hospitale. Vol. 3rd. p. 279.

lepers

3 times a week.

In 1449, it was enacted that if any sornares*, over-lyars, master-ful beggars, idle rose, pounds and other wods, or pound, that their ears be, or exhibited to the King, & that they be measured, and that if any the pay lands, or the poor, or are bards, meaning such bards as were also beggars and such like runners about, that they be put in irons, or in the King's wards as long as they have any goods, or live on, that their ears be nailed to the house or to another tree, and there cut off, & banished the country, & if they are found in it again, that they be hanged. This harsh law was enforced by an act passed in 1455.

1449. master-ful beggars, idle rose, pounds and other wods, or pound.

ears cut off.

*Note. It is worth observing, that, in the earlier periods of their history, both in England & Scotland, beggars were generally of such a description as to entitle them to the patronage of

Beggars slaves: accordingly they appear to have been regarded from a
Slaves, confusion, and things in consequence of note. Vagrants, so
"frequently denounced in this Act, were, what they are here called,
"masterful beggars," who, when they could not not obtain what
they asked or by fair means, seldom hesitated to take
it by violence. The law is said to be Celtic, and to im-
part a "Soldier." 3rd - p. 280.

After several other similar acts, the various legislative
Law of provisions respecting vagrants, beggars and other poor people,
1572. were reduced into one law in 1572. Some of the pro-
visions were as follows. That none born in one parish
Tokens & shall be accounted a beggar in another. That each parish
Badges. shall have its special "Form & badge" of its beg-
gars. That all strong & idle beggars between 14 & 70,
be taken up, imprisoned & scourged and bored through
Death by the ear with a hot iron, unless some responsible man
3rd offence will take them into his service for a year. If he run
Death. away from service, & is arrested, he shall be again
scourged & bored through the ear, and if at the end of
60 days, he is found begging again, he shall suffer the
pains of death.

The classes of vagabonds enumerated are similar
to those enumerated in the laws of England, viz, those
Classes who practice the trade & profession, "fast & loose", & sell ware,
vagabonds. Egyptians, gypsies, men & women that say that they can
tell their fortunes, betting stakes & plays, and all such
persons, pretending to have been robbed, or burnt out, those
having neither land nor masters, nor means of living, all

minstrelles, fangsters, and tale-tellers, not in the service of some of the Lords of the Parliament, or great burrows, or idle common labourers, seeing whom, counterfeiters of licences, and those using them, all vagrant scholars of the Universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow & Aberdeen, not authorized by the faculties, all pretended ship-wrecked mariners, &c. &c. All these, are included under the denomination of idle & strong beggars & vagabonds, & worthy of the punishment, before specified. pp. 283 - 284.

And seeing that the poor, aged & impotent persons should also be provided for, it is required by the act that the Lord Chancellor shall inquire into the state of Hospitals for the Poor, & place them in a condition most suited to the wants of poor people, and also that the Provosts & Bailies of every burgh & town shall have take made of all the aged, poor & impotent persons in each, and that within 40 days after the proclamation of this act, at the market cross of Edinburgh, the poor shall repair to their own parishes, and there settle themselves under the pain of being treated as vagabonds. After the 40 days are past, the Provost and other borough authorities shall inquire into the personal condition of each, whether they are married or single, how much they gain by begging, and to see what they will consent to receive in begging, and provide lodging & sustenance for such as want it, and lessen the inhabitants or the expences, — And if they find any not belonging to the Parish, to send them from Parish to Parish till they reach their own, except to prove & bed fast people, which may

Legislate to be provided for the Poor.

Laws respecting.

not be punished, & those recommended to their own respective parishes, shall receive testimonials to enable them to keep their way thither, with the condition that they stop not two nights in any one place, unless staid by storms or sickness.

Poor people offering to comply, whipped, burnt in the ear.

And if any of the poor people refuse to pass and abide in the places appointed, or after the allotment to present begging, they to be whipped by scourging, imprisonment & banishment through the sea as vagabonds, & strong beggars, and for the second fault to be punished as thieves, as is before appointed. And if any of the poor & impotent who are partially able to work, shall refuse employment suitable to their condition, for the first refusal, they shall be scourged & put in the stocks, and for the second fault, to be punished as vagabonds. If any beggars' children, between the age of 5 & 14, be likely to be any serviceable person, such person shall have the same, & a boy till 24, & a girl till 18 years of age. And as the prisons, stocks & irons are likely to be filled, in consequence of this act, the expences resulting from the same, shall be paid from the same fund as are the poor,

Ibid. 285-7.

Beggars children bound till 24 & 18.

In 1597, these Acts against strong & idle beggars, vagabonds & Egyptians, were confirmed, with the addition, that "Stark beggars, and their barns should be employed in common works." p. 287.

1597 Egyptians. "Stark beggars" "barns"

In 1609, a law was passed directing that the vagabonds, pensioners, & common thieves, called Egyptians, should be banished the realm, and if there

Banished.

after found, be punished with death. p. 287.

Under the year 1617, we meet with the following act, in which the King rather advises than enjoins his subjects to take the children of poor persons into their service.

1617 Children of the poor taken as servants until the age of 24.

The preamble states that in spite of the many laws for restraining of idle and masterful beggars, their number does daily increase and recommends that the children of such beggars & poor people be received into families there to receive care, entertainment & education, — which children so received shall be obliged and bound as servants to the receivers, in manner and during the time specified. & such children are under 14, they shall be delivered to those who will receive them, by the magistrate of the burgh or by the session of the kirk, with consent of their parents if they have any; and if they be past 14, then their own consent shall be taken thereto. Such children shall be bound to work for their masters until they pass the age of 30 years compleat, and they shall be under their line to their said masters, and subject to the corrections & chastisements, according to the turpitude of their offences, in all manner & sort of punishment, the life & limbs excepted. All that they earn until that age, to belong to their masters, and if they absent themselves from their masters without leave, they shall be obliged to refund the whole damage & interest sustained by them through

their absence, besides receiving bodily punishment on their return. Those who harbour runaways, more than 12 hours, to pay 10$ daily, until they be restored. Vol. 3rd. p. 287-8.

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An act passed in 1603, after reciting the former acts concerning vagrars & vagabonds, remarks, "that the chief cause whereby the foresaide acts have proven in effectual, and that vagabonds and idle persons to get so much ground, hath been, that there were few or no common works then erected in the kingdom, wherein might take and imploy the said idle persons in their service; and that now, by his Majesties singular care, common works & manufactures of diverse sorts are setten up in this kingdom. It therefore ratifies all former acts, with this addition, "that it shall be lawfull to all persons or societies who have or shall set up any manufactories within this kingdom, to rize upon and apprehend the persons of any vagabonds who shall be found begging, ... and to imploy them for their service as they shall see fit, ... and the parishes where such beggars or vagabonds were born, or have most resorted for the last three years previous, to make payment to the societies that shall imploy them, 2$ Scots per diem for the first year after their apprehension, & 1$ Scots per diem for the next three years thereafter. Likewise, it is hereby declared, that the Poor so imployed shall continue in the service of the imployers, and under their direction & correction, in manner foresaid, not only during the space of the maintenance to be payed for them by their parishes in manner above written, but also

1603

It work to the poor.

I have must be heard.

for the space of seven years thereafter (for meat and cloathe only." p. 290-291.

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The 8th c. of the 3rd Session of the 2nd Parliament of Charles the 2nd, held in 1672, statutes that vagabonds, beggars, and idle persons are daily increasing, and, if they were set to work and bred to trades and callings, might become useful and profitable to the whole kingdom. And with all considering that the effect of all these good laws hath been frustrat, because there hath been no place provided wherein such poor people might be set to work, directs the magistrates of every borough to provide correction-houses for receiving and entertaining of the beggars, vagabonds and idle persons within their burghs, "and to appoint masters and overseers for setting the poor sent thither to work, under the penalty of 500 marks, to be paid quarterly till such houses were provided." "Those who through age & infirmity are not able to work, may be supplied by the contributions of the parish kirk, and if the same be not sufficient to entertain them, that they give them a badge or ticket to ask alms at the dwelling houses of the inhabitants of their own parish only, and that they be not at all resort to kirks, markets, or any other places where there are meetings at marriages, christenings, burials, or upon any other public occasion. Those who are able to work, to be offered to any of the inhabitants who will receive them, and shall become their servants and apprentices, give them the benefit of their work until they attain the

11 c.

poor increase.

Correction & work houses established.

Certificates given & badges.

age of 30 years. All others to be sent to the House of Correction, and the masters of which are impowered & required, to put and hold the said poor people to work, as they shall see them most capable and fit; and in case of their disobedience, to use all manner of severity and correction, by chequing or otherwise, excepting torture. pp. 291-2.

1695 In 693, was passed "An Act against the Poor" repealing, abrogating, and rescinding all Acts of Parliament, and Acts & Proclamations of Council, for maintaining the Poor, and restraining of beggars; and ordering them to be put to rigorous execution in all points. p. 292.

All Acts ratified.

1698 Also was passed an Act in 1698, bearing date Sept. 1st, ratifying and approving all former Acts of Parliament, and Proclamations of Council, for repressing of beggars, and maintaining and employing the Poor. p. 293.

No two poor laws agree.

The Author of the Article "Poor" in the Scotch Encyclopædia, says, "that the statutes are not less contradictory with respect to the persons who are required to carry them out. In short, no two laws can be found that do not vary from each other in this respect, one way or other."

The same author remarks of the Poor Laws, "that there is not one particular in which these laws do not vary from, and contradict each other. In these circumstances it is so far from being surprising that these Acts have been found to remain in practical desuetude, that it would have been truly wonderful if this had not been the case. That not

in practical desuetude.

one of them is now in force, was lately proved by a learned and public spirited Gentleman, who, having to pay the Poor's Tax, with which he was assessed by the overseers of the parish in which he happened to reside, he stood in action in the Court of Session and maintained, upon the broad ground, that, there is no Law in force in Scotland, by which an Involuntary Poor's Rate can be established in any parish."

No Poor Law in force in Scotland.

It will not, I hope, appear surprising, that the expedients adopted in this country for the relief of the Poor should be extremely various! The principal fund, however, from which parochial charity is administered, arises from collections made at the church-doors; and from donations given at Sacrament time; in some parishes the Poor are also assisted from the rent of a part of the church, called the Poor's Aisle; in others from the rent of a house, which has been purchased out of their account by the Kirk Session, and let for hire &c. p. 294.

Sacrament money.

Poor's Aisle.

The expence of maintaining the Poor in Scotland is stated to be very inconsiderable in comparison with what is expended in maintaining an equal number of Poor in the sister kingdom. p. 296.

Expence of poor in Scotland less than in England.

The author of the "Statistical Account of ~~Scotland~~ Paisley" says, "It is pleasing with the greater reason complacency, that the idea of a general fund established for their support, was by the parish, in spite of some efforts to prevent it, with the idea, open and indolent, and in-

Large fund makes many beggars.

lers it difficult for him to obtain day laborers". "In the opposite case of good," (in Morpeth, the author of this account remarks), these effects of the funds are to be thrown: first, in support of commonal schools: second that no distress arising from poverty occurs, which obtains not a prompt relief, without any expence to the inhabitants of the parish.
pp. 295.

Highland blanks suffer not their own poor, but in any case of misfortune the whole clan rallied themselves called upon to give their assistance towards setting up the unfortunate again. p. 297.

Highlands are more in the Province of the Highlands, the poor are numerous and the funds small; still, very few real objects of charity are ever neglected to be their head.

Eden thinks that Houses of Correction are more wanted in Scotland than Poor Rates, or Poor Houses. They are needed as a means of coercion. At least three fourths of the beggars in Scotland are lazy vagrants, many from the Highlands and from Ireland;) who dread the work house. Sometimes when one of these notorious impostors enters a town, he is taken up and by order of a magistrate whipped through the streets and hunted out of town. Vol. 3rd, p. 291.

3/4 of beggars in Scotland lazy vagrants. whipped

Voluntary church contributions are merely for the real objects of charity, but it is to be regretted that these burdens fall almost entirely on the industrious poor; The gentry are seldom regular at Church and hence contribute little poor.

Church charity falls on the industrious poor.

Eden's "State of the Poor in England." Vol. 3rd.

little to the weekly and still less to the sacramental collections, while the poor, in general, attend strictly to all religious duties. p. 300.

Scotch poor more comfortable than English.

One who only knows that no regular provision is made for the poor of Scotland and that they too much will think their condition most deplorable; but they live as comfortably as, and with less expence to the public than those of England, notwithstanding the immense and grievous sums paid for the latter. p. 301.

Saturday, beggars day.

In some parts of Scotland, beggars are restricted to particular days, Saturday being one. This was probably the case in all corporate towns 200 years ago. p. 303.

also in Hayti.

[Most likely it was also a French custom, for the beggars of Hayti are still restricted to that day in their larger and united operations.]

Mr. Pitt's speech on bending the wages of Labourers.

Mr. Pitt, in his Speech in the House of Commons, delivered February 12th, 1796, on Mr. Whitbread's motion for the second reading of the Bill for the Regulating the Wages of Labourers, says, "He had the satisfaction to hear the honourable gentleman acknowledge, that if the price of labour could be made to find its own level, it would be much more desirable than to assess it by arbitrary statute, which in the execution was liable to abuse on the one hand, and inefficacy on the other..... The Poor Laws of this country, however wise in their original in-

Evils of the laws of settlement.

tution, had contributed to pervert the circulation of labour, and to substitute a system of abuses, in lieu of the evils which they ostensibly meant to redress, and, by engrafting upon a defective plan legislative remedies, produced nothing but confusion & disorder. The laws of settlement prevented the workman from going to that market where he could dispose of his industry to the greatest advantage; and the capitalist from employing the person who was qualified to procure him the best returns for his advances. These laws had at once increased the burdens of the Poor, and taken from the collective resources of the State, to supply wants which their operation had occasioned, and to alleviate a poverty which they tended to perpetuate.

Approves the laws of Elizabeth.

He coincided, with the opinion of Blackstone, that, in proportion as the wise regulations that were established in the long and glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth, have been superseded by subsequent enactments, the utility of the institution has been impaired, and the convenience of the plan rendered fruitless.... Let us, said he, make relief, in cases where there are a number of children, a matter of right, not of honour instead of a ground for opprobrium & contempt. .... By giving effect to the operation of Friendly Societies, individuals would be secured from becoming a burden upon the public, and, if necessary, be enabled to subsist upon a fund which their own industry contributed to raise.

Many children an honour.

Approves Friendly Societies.

These great funds of posting stif according to the number of children, preventing removals at the expence of the parish officer, and making them subscribe to Friendly Societies, would tend in a very great degree to remove every con

blamed to which the present partial remedy could be applied. The extension of Schools of Industry was also an object of material importance. The suggestion of these Schools was originally taken from Lord Hale and Mr. Locke, and upon such authority he had no difficulty in recommending the plan to the encouragement of the Legislature ...

pp. 308–12.

Extracts from Bill for the Better Support and Maintenance of the Poor, Prepared according to the Plan proposed by Mr. Pitt, to the House of Commons, in the present session of Parliament, 1796.

The following are a few of the points noted in Mr. Pitt's Bill. By Section 36, Poor persons requiring to be employed in any School of Industry, not to be entitled to any relief. By Section 55, For persons entitled to the benefit of the Act to have work found for them, either by the Poor, home with some inhabitant, or by the Schools of Industry.

By Section 73, Wages of the Poor to be settled by the piece, and in money.

pp. 312–329.

Mr. Pitt's Bill for the Better Support of the Poor.

Extracts, to Third Vol.

Under the head of Expences & Earnings of various Expences & Earnings of several families & Labourers in 9 Counties in England.

Rural Labourers in various parts of England, collected in January & February, 1796, Mr. Eden gives the Expences & Earnings of from 4 to 6 families each in Bedfordshire, Cumberland, Huntingdonshire, Hertfordshire, Leicestershire, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Suffolk & Somersetshire.

Of 3 families in Bedfordshire, the annual expences exceeded the annual earnings from £2. to £8.

In Cumberland of 4 families, the expences of the first family in 1792 & 1794, exceeded the earnings from £1 2. to £1 9s. The earnings of the 2nd family in 1793 & 1795, exceeded the expences 4s. 7d. to 4s. 10d. The expences of the 3rd family in 1795, exceeded the earnings £5-8-8. Of the 4th family in 1795, the expences exceeded the earnings £9-3s.-2d.

In Huntingdon of 4 families, the expences of the first in 1792 & 1795, the expences exceeded the earnings £3 9s. 7d. & £3 8s. 8d. Of the second in 1793 & 1795, the excess of the expences was £4-10s.-1d. & £5-8s.-9d. Of the third family, the expences exceeded the earnings £2 4s. Of the 4th family in 1795, the expences exceeded the earnings £1-18-4.

In Hertfordshire of 3 families in 1795, the expences exceeded the earnings from £18 15. for the least to £41-9s.-8d. for the highest.

In Leicestershire, of 4 families, of the first in 1793, the expences exceeded the earnings £10-8-5½. - Of the second family, the earnings exceeded the expences in 1792 & 1794, respectively. £3 1s. 4d. & £2 1s. 11d. Of the 3rd family, the expences exceeded the earnings in 1793 & 1794, respectively £5 6s. & £3 6s. 6d. Of the 4th family, the expences in 1795 were £25-12s.-2d.

In Leicestershire, of 4 families, the excess of expences of the first was £10-8s.-5½d. - Of the second in 1792, the earnings exceeded the expences £3-1-4¾. and in 1794. £2 1 11. Of the third, the expences exceeded the earnings in 1792 & 1794.

27 l. & 5 l. Of the 4th, the expences exceeded the income for 1795 £ 25 12 s.

In Norfolk, of 4 families, the earnings exceeded the expences in 1792 & 1794 respectively £4 3 5 & £3 14 2. In the 2nd family the earnings exceeded the expences in 1792, £ 2 5 6, & in 1795, the earnings exceeded the expences, £ 6 1 4. Of the 3rd family, the expences exceeded the earnings in 1795 £ 18 6 1 d. Of the 4th family, the expence exceeded the earnings in 1795, £ 13 14 3.

In Northamptonshire of 5 families, the expences exceeded the earnings in 1792 & 1795, £ 2 2 s 1 d & £2 4 s 5 d respectively. Of the 2nd, the expences exceeded the earnings respectively in 1794 & 1795 £ 6 5 s 5 d. & £6 14 s 5. Of the 3rd family in 1795, the earnings exceeded the expences £1 9 10. Of the 4th family, the expences exceeded the earnings in 1795, £ 5 9 10.

In Suffolk, of 6 families, from 1792 to 1796, the expences exceeded the earnings from £ 3 & 4 to £18 18 10, till made up, however, by work in a good harvest, & private charity.

In Somersetshire, of 4 families, in 1795, the expences exceeded the earnings from £ 1 3 6 to £16 17 6.

only 4 of 16 families wholly sup-port them-selves.

Of these 16 families in the different counties, in only 4 do the earnings appear to be in excess of the expences. These appear to have been selected as unusual cases to illustrate the favorable condition of the poor from 1792 to 1796. The tables so much

into detail, in regard to the articles of food, and the numbers in each family; remarks on the habits and character of individuals. In the explanatory notes will be found such remarks as these: Under Kentwardenshire, Ewelme, this parish allows varies at 3s the Winchester bushel to all the above families: even with this indulgence, two families use almost wholly spoon meat, water and potatoes ... Some families have not bought clothes the last three years. I shall stop paper in Wantage say, that of stuff or stockings, we sold none last year. p. 341.

Hence no clothes for 3 yrs.

Oxfordshire. A considerable part of the earnings of one family are derived from gleaning in harvest, and from weeding. p. 342. CCCXLII

gleaning weeding.

Lincoln. Family consists of man, wife & 3 children of 3 & 1 year, man industrious; women sick, they use neither meat, sugar, nor beer. In another family man works gleaning but little: gets a good deal of gains in the course of the year. Employment, Coopers, working Lime, the profits of which help a little to make family expences. p. 346.

Enfamily man industrious; neither meat, nor beer.

Northamptonshire. One family earns a load of faggots every Christmas from the proprietor of their estate, besides their share of Sacrament money, and sometimes a part of a parochial distribution of coals. 347 CCCXLVII

270

Institutions concerning the Poor.

Appendix, No. 18, Vol. 3rd, extending from p. CCCLXXVII to p. CCCLXXXVI, contains a catalogue of publications in

in the English language, on subjects relative to the Poor. They are 270 in number with date, commencing in 1654 and ending in 1797. besides 12 without date!

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The History of the Poor; their Rights, Duties, and the Laws respecting them. In a Series of Letters. By Thos. Ruggles, Esqr. F.A.S. - One of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace in the Counties of Essex & Suffolk. 2 vols. London. 1794.

Ruggles was a frequent contributor to the Annals of Agriculture, edited by Arthur Young, whose intimate friend he was, and to whom some of these letters were addressed.

Eden follows Ruggles. [This work preceded Eden's and so far as relates to the various plans for supporting and employing the poor, is followed and adopted by Eden.]

1787 - Poor Rate increase. The returns from the Overseers for 1787 show a vast increase of the Poor Rate. Vol. I. Introduction. p. V.

1793 still rising. The Poor Rates are still rising throughout parts of the kingdom, which cannot employ the poor in manufactures, March. 12th. 1793. — p. VII.

Poor at the beck of the rich. The page of history reveals to us this melancholy and awful truth, that the happiness of millions has, in all ages, been at the beck and in the power of

unite, and those often the meanest and worst of mankind.
p. 5.

In 1491, the 8th of Henry the 7th, another act was passed prohibiting the pulling down or suffering to decay houses of husbandry, by which means, the Preamble says, in some towns, where once 200 persons were employed, and lived by their lawful labors, only 3 husbandmen are employed and the rest all idle idlenesses. In a note to this statute, Ruggles says, the legislature, in centuries ago, seemed to have become aware of the evil consequences of the consolidation of small farms, — a course which strikes at the root of all stimulus to agricultural industry, spares the poor, by excluding all prospect of using the plough and sickle for themselves. By the 11th of Henry 7th, 1494, vagabonds, and other and suspected persons shall be set in the stocks three days and three nights on bread & water, and some honest man shall resort to the hundred where he last dwelt, is best known, or was born, and there remain, on pain of like punishment.
p. 46.

Tracing enclosing 3 where agriculture does so.

consolidating farms bad for the poor; plough & sickle.

Beggars stocks

Since the Reformation, the infirm and aged poor had no legal claim for assistance from society, or dependent upon the action of the various ecclesiastics, which has been alluded to, and which seems to have been adequate under the management of the clergy to the demand on it. p. 52.

low, aged poor dependent on Church.

Ruggles says that the lower classes have increased since

the abolition of monasteries, and that the alms they
[illegible] from the clergy, [illegible] [illegible]. And the
Poor dependant very numerous poor are now left a heavy burden on the landed
on land. property alone, while manufactures and commerce derive con-
siderable benefit from their labour. At the same time,
a principle destructive to the rights of the lower classes
seems now to [illegible] the whole system of the manage-
ment of the poor.... a principle that those who are born
Great to hard labor, shall never have an opportunity of emerg-
Gulf between ing from their low condition.... that between the la-
poor and borer and any superior situation, there is now a dread-
rich. ful gulf, which none, or scarce any, can pass. pp. 56-7

Ruggles remarks in regard to the Preamble of the 13th & 14th
of Charles 2nd, which has been copied from Eden, at p.
Poor have the of this book, that it appears by this that a poor stock
for work by materials to work up and a chance of finding houses,
or shelter, caused the poor to leave those parishes where the owners
were [illegible] these villages and go where they had
a chance of domicil and employment. This is the
first act which respects the settlements of the Poor. p. 122.

Since the year 1662, the Law of Settlements of the
Law of 13th & 14th Charles 2nd, has been abridged the liberty
Settlement. of the Poor, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] where
they [illegible] for better wages, a constant [illegible], without
fear of being sent back by the parish officers, p. 126.

Ruggles is surprised that Lord Bacon should not have

Bacon left a single tract on the subject of the poor. He quotes a couple of single paragraphs the only one to be found in his five quarto and folio volumes, and this is his advice to the King, touching the poor, Sutton's estate, he founder of the Charter House, a general matter, by which it is evident, says Ruggles, that his ideas were not well digested on the subject. pp. 131 2.

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Settlements. Settlements now occupy a small portion of the attention of the King's Bench, and reports of the determinations in that court, respecting them, are become extraordinary, and law suits give much occupation to the gentlemen of the Law. p. 157.

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Poor Laws keep the Poor, poor, Carey. Ruggles quotes from Carey's "Essay towards Regulating the Trade and Employing the Poor", written about 1700. "But above all, our laws to set the poor at work, are short and defective, tending rather to maintain them as poor than to raise them to a better way of living". p. 174.

At p. 224, Ruggles quotes with approbation a "Very pertinent & Brief Examination of Certain Ordinary Complaints of Diverse of our Countrymen in these our Days, by William Shakespeare, Gentlemen. Imprinted. 1581. Reprinted 1751 London.

Shakespeare's supposed pamphlet.

[This pamphlet, edition 1751, is contained in a volume of tracts in my possession and is dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. "Imploored by your Majesties late and singular clemency in pardoning certayne my undutiful misdemeanors". The pamphlet is in all probability a for-

my copy.

forgery, so far as it concerns the name of Shakespeare, who in 1581, was but 17 years old.]

Badging of military origin.

Badging the poor, which is traced by the 8th & 9th William 3rd, is supposed to have sprung from the military institution, when the nobility distinguished their followers with peculiar insignia. p. 287.

Vol. 2nd.

Poor laws cause idleness & tea drinking.

The author of the Farming Letter to the People of England, 1767, considers the Poor Laws as universally encouraging of idleness, drunkenness and tea drinking. pp. 1-2.

Mr. Kent, in his Hints to Gentlemen, is of opinion that one cause of the great increase of the Poor Rates is the high wages paid the poor labor under in carrying their poultry, fowls to market. Formerly, they could carry their to market, butter and cheese of the farmer, now they are given to the shop keepers. p. 8.

On pp. 10 & 12, Ruggles collects Adam Smith's opinions on the subject of the Poor, scattered through his "Wealth of Nations", which I insert in extenso as follows;

Adam Smith's opinions.

If you must take to his wages, and they must suffice for his family, the race of workmen would not last beyond the first generation. Book 1 c. 8.

In Great Britain, the wages of labor seem to be evidently more than what is precisely necessary to bring up a family. B. 1. c. 8.

For raising better off.

The real foundation of the necessaries and conveniences of life, which his labor can procure the laborer, has increased in the present century in a still greater proportion perhaps than its money price. B. 1. c. 8.

Grocer. 50%

A little grocer will make 50 percent on a stock of £100. A merchant in the same place will scarce make 10 percent on £10,000. The greater part of the profit on the little stock is wages. B. 1. c. 10.

Merchant. 10%.

Means labor inviolable.

The property which every man has in his own labor as it is the original foundation of all other property, so it is the most sacred and inviolable. B. 1. c. 10.

Law of Settlements.

The very unequal price of labor, often found in England in places near one another, is probably owing to the Law of Settlements, which prevent a poor man from carrying his industry from one parish to another without a certificate. B. 1. c. 10.

To remove a man, who has committed no misdemeanor, from the parish where he chooses to reside, is an evident violation of liberty and justice. The common people of England, however, so jealous of their liberty, and so apt to mistake injustice without what it consists, have now, for more than a century, acquiescing it. remedy. It has never been the object of any general popular clamor, such as that against general warrants, an abusive practice, but not likely to occasion any general oppression. B. 1. c. 10.

The obstruction which corporation laws give to the free

The Poor of Europe
Corporation Laws.

circulation of labor, is common to every part of Europe. B. 1. c. 10.

Setting wages good & bad workmen equal.

The complaint of workmen that fixing wages by Act of Parliament puts the good and bad workman on the same footing, seems perfectly well founded. B. 1. - c. 10.

Corn cheaper than formerly.
Stocking wheat.

The money price of coarse cloth in the 15th century, compared with the present money price, is greater, - cloth is cheaper now than formerly and probably much better. B. 1. c. 11
A pair of stockings or a pair of shoes, a poor servant did never cost as much as a bushel and a half of wheat. B. 1. - c. 11. - Ruggles. pp. 10 - 15.

Not ale houses at the bottom of the taste for ale.

It is not the power of ale houses, which causes drunkenness in the common people, but that disposition arising from other causes, necessarily gives employment to ale houses. B. 2 c. - 5.

corn
" labor.

The money price of corn regulates that of all other home made commodities. It regulates the money price of labor. B 4 c. 5.

Adam Smith
" ale.

Under necessaries, Adam Smith comprehends not only those things which nature but decency makes necessary for the poor, as linen, soap, leather, shoes. All other things he calls luxuries, without meaning to throw the smallest reproach on the temperate use of them, such as beer, ale, tobacco, tea, sugar, or spirituous liquors. B. 5. c. 2. p. 18.

Knapp's prefix appellation "Inquiry into the laws of the Increase of the Poor." 1787. The anonymous pamphlet entitled "Hints respecting the Poor" 1788. The author proposes that his increase arises from the exclusion of smaller farmers, and he proposes the poor should have a portion of land round his cottage. p. 32.

Consolidation of land.

Hanway plan, Poor obliged to contribute.

The Rev. J. Hanway, Vicar of Wednesbury, Staffordshire, in 1785, published "Hints respecting the Poor". He recommends Box Clubs, to which the poor shall be obliged to contribute not less than 1/36 nor more than 1/24 of their earnings, all menial servants and young unmarried people. 1/48. Every occupier of lands and tenements 1/20 of his rent. The minister, church-wardens, and overseers to be a body corporate for the management of the fund, a person chosen by the poor, who contributes, to be associated with the body corporate. The payments to be made weekly, and the masters to be responsible for their servants' pots. This fund is to relieve the poor, with not above 4s a week each, but in any particular case, if this relief is not sufficient, the minister is to mention it to the congregation, and the church wardens were to collect for that case a free benevolence. p. 36.

Howlett. " Inclosing of farms.

Rev. Mr. Howlett says four causes have been assigned for the Increase of the Poor. 1st, Injudicious system of Poor laws. 2nd, Ale houses. 3rd, Wickedness of the Poor. 4th, Inclosing of farms. But before we ascribe these evils to the spirit of our laws, we should inquire how the matter stands in other kingdoms of Europe, where no such laws exist. He concludes by quoting Incens. Pettend,

Mons. Villeneuve Bargemon, in the City of Orleans, states the population of that City at 20,000, one third receiving charitable assistance. About £15,000 are expended for them annually and many nevertheless perish for want.

Orleans - 1/3 poor.

The Rev. Jm. Howlett wrote in 1788. From information contained in M. Pattard's letters, Jm. Howlett concludes that £5,000,000 are raised for the poor throughout France. pp. 45-7.

France, £5,000,000 for the Poor.

Jm. Howlett continues that the increase of our expences for the poor has been supposed to arise from temporary want of work, but he says this cannot be the case with agriculture which requires nearly the same number of hands all years. p. 55.

Agriculture, the same all year.

Mr. Ruggles has a letter, No. 27, on the Moral Claims of the Poor, when by the loss of health, repeated debility, or age, they lose power to maintain themselves. "It is upon this basis, as upon an immovable rock, that Christ builds his strongest moral exhortations, and calls this the test of faith." He proceeds in this strain to considerable length. See p. 60-64.

Moral & spiritual claims of the Poor.

The property holders of England seem to regard labourers as a commodity which they must be furnished with, and take care of sufficiently to keep up the supply, but never as human beings, entitled to equal rights and equal opportunities, which may enable them to attain to the station of property holders themselves. But that a free avenue should be opened from the lowest to the highest

Labourers, a commodity.

plane of society and every obstruction removed from it, so that all the ascending rough to reach the highest, or any intermediate point, can do so without hindrance, never seemed to have occurred to them.]

Mr. Ruggles rather seems to think that as the poor, before the Reformation were supported by the Church, they ought to be so now. He says would it be hard to compromise with the possessors of ecclesiastical estates that those in the possession of the patrons on whom no property tax is imposed, should act as a medium of the Poor. Rates had been taken throughout the kingdom for the last three years, bear the increased expence alone until the rate upon their ecclesiastical property, amounts to one fourth of the net annual receipt of their profits, and that the clergy should be rated in the same proportion. p. 73.

Poor should be supported by the Church.

He adds further on, that this would enable the clergy to enforce in practice those moral duties which many of them so frequently inculcate from the pulpit. p. 74.

Clergy practice what they preach.

He also adds that his friend Arthur Young used to argue in conversation with him that the poor originally had no right to pecuniary assistance from the State but should be left to private charity. p. 75.

Arthur Young, on the Poor.

A prospect of reward is a more active and honorable inducement than a fear of punishment, - so thought and so wrote William Shakespeare in 1581. For his exp

Shakespeare's sentiment.

passed pamphlet already referred to.] p. 127.

By a statute passed in the 51st (8) Henry 3rd, when a quarter of wheat is 3s, and a quarter of barley, a cow by 20d, and a quarter of oats 16d, then brewers in cities might sell two gallons of ale, one penny, for a penny. Dr. Barrington, in his notes on these statutes, seems to be of opinion that, in the time of Henry 3rd, 1233 1273, women were mostly the brewers, and corroborates the opinion by referring to the term brewstrix used in the statute. Harrison also in his Description of Britain (time of Elizabeth) speaks of ale-wives being best in brewing; also because it is still said in Wales, that you are little reason to expect good ale unless she lies with his brewer. pp. 189-90.

Women brewers.

Welsh proverb.

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17th. Hen. 7th. In the 17th of Henry 7th, one year in the 16th century, the bad effects of the common sale of ale and beer were so considerable, yet so to cause Parliament to restrain their use. This appears to be the first instance of such interference. p. 198.

Parliament restrains the sale of ale.

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Letter 43, relates to domestic servants. She says the children of a respectable class of citizens, generally thought it no disparagement to be retained as menial servants in families of superior consideration, and were humble friends, rather humble friends, seldom changing their places. p. 246.

Become humble friends, formerly.

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Travels during the Years 1787, 1788, and 1789, principally more particularly with a View of ascertaining the Cultivation, Wealth, Resources, and National Prosperity of the Kingdom of France. By Arthur Young, Esq. F.R.S. Bury St. Edmunds, 1792.

children. ragged. embrassed at gifts.

1st. 5th. 78. Montauban, The Poor seem poor, ill-housed, children, horribly ragged, shoes and stocking unknown, dirt not big, and after everything was given, seemed embrassed. One third of this province seems uncultivated, between the oppressive vapours of despotism, and the debilitate prejudices of a feudal nobility. p. 84.

news-papers, dullness & ignorance.

4th July, 1788 - At Chateau Thierry on the Marne. - No Coffee house, and although some thousands of inhabitants, not a newspaper, nor people hardly know to be one. To those who are used to England, it is not possible to describe adequately the dullness and stupidity of France. p. 131.

Chateaus burnt. women ravished.

At Besançon 27th July - 1789. - The mischiefs in this country, numerous & shocking. many chateaus have been burnt, others plundered. - the seigneurs hunted down like wild beasts, their wives and daughters ravished, their papers and titles burnt, and all their private titles destroyed, and these dominations are not confined to ruined persons, who are odious for their former conduct, but an universal spirit and rage for the love of plunder. Some gentlemen informed me that the same was going on in many other places. p. 146.

I had conceived that small farms in properties were [illegible] cultivation, but that I have [illegible] respect [illegible] good [illegible] them. In Flanders, I saw excellent husbandry on properties of 30 to 100 Acres. In Bearn, I passed [illegible] neatness, ease and happiness charmed me. It was that property alone could on a small scale effect. [illegible] promoted France, however, but unremitting industry. The husbandry was very bad wit the industry of the farmers [illegible] was enormous. It was [illegible] that property [illegible] all other, a most active [illegible] to severe and incessant labor. I know no way so sure of carrying tillage to a mountain top, as by permitting the [illegible] to require it in properties [illegible] not, in the mountains of Auvergne, they have [illegible] to [illegible] a [illegible] top, had denied it. p. 407.

After the ecclesiastical estates were seized in France, [illegible] delays. But they should [illegible] the [illegible] in [illegible] future. [illegible] pointed to Commerce to figure into the state of the [illegible] Rejected the [illegible] England which it is equally dangerous to [illegible] for [illegible].

Sc. of Poor in regard to the rates.

It seems, I am informed, authorised to say, that they should adopt, in principle, a new Poor Law, in lieu of the Poor have a right to pecuniary assistance from the State, and that an income ought to be secured of 20 millions a year, and if so, why not 100, or, 300 millions and so on? It has been said to be long opinion in England, that the more money is expended, even humanely, the more poor are created, and the degree of misery is exactly in proportion to the assistance given by rates. p. 439.

Increase of land

Increase of population.

The great fertilizers of these distributes very much to the increase of lands in small portions whatever promotes the appearance non of subsistence in times more & more. p. 470.

Chances,

Intendant all people.

Example the rich.

Lazy the Poor.

Under the head of the Evidence in Parliament, Evans numerates the oppressions of the Poor, and not the laws. The intendant said wealth, thus, add, a diminish is wanted a time, at present. No man can go from the enormous poor, and after begotten into absolute tyranny. The wealthy, the Noble, and those who had friends at Court, to whom the intendant could arbitrarily look up, and obtain exemption, and then they laye a other on the rich and such suffered. Thus the weight fell upon poor people, while the wealthy and strong are exempted.

Excellent in the written was another dreadful scourge, on the peasantry, and as married men

Mendicants. were compelled, the corruption intrinsically brought among the people, often to be shared. The Maréchaussée, a police of the roads annually brought ruin on hundreds of women. 300 were hanged in Lillum upon a gibbet in Lorraine. These oppressions fell on the lower class only. p. 533-4.

Crimes.

The Penal Code of France of the old government again makes one shudder. Smugglers of salt, armed and assembled to the number of 5, in Provence were sent 200 lv. & 9 years in the galleys. (Twice as rigid.) In all the rest of the kingdom, death. Under 5, a fine of 200 lv. or 3 years in the galleys, second offence, death.

Smuggling.

Smugglers with horses and carts, 300 lv. or 3 yrs. in the galleys. Smugglers who carry salt on their backs, 200 lv. or flogged & branded. Women smugglers, - first offence 100 liv. fine; second, 200 lv.; third, flogged and banished for life; husbands responsible. Children the same as women; aged & infirm, flogged. Soldiers smuggling with arms, hanged. Buying smuggled salt to resell - same punishment as smuggling. p. 534.

Crimes on Salt.

The Capitaineries were a dreadful scourge on all occupiers of land. By this is meant the possession vested by the King in the princes of the blood, of the property of all game, even on lands not belonging to them, & on princes granted long before to individuals, so that the creating of a district into a capitainerie was an annihilation of all manorial rights to game within it; Game included whole droves of wild boars and herds of deer, not

Capitaineries.

Game Laws.

Wild boars.

confined by walls, but wandering about destroying the crops,
Crops destroyed. and the wretched peasants who tilled them were not to be pitied,
for there were numerous edicts in preserving the game, which pro-
hibited weeding and hoeing, lest the young partridges should be
killed, destroyed; sharpening seed, lest it should move the game;
edicts. manuring with night soil lest the flavour of the partridge
should be injured by feeding on the corn produced; mowing
hay, &c, before a certain time, a tale as to spoil many crops. x.
The game in the Capitainerie of Montceau, in four parishes only,
Missing in 4 parishes. did amount to the amount of 184,263 lis. The lie
army exercised in these capitaineries, which extended over
100 leagues of country, was so great, that many cahiers
(petitions) demanded the utter suppression of them. 335 6

The courts authorized every species of despotism, favour-
ing chicanery, ruining the parties by great expence &
Courts of justice. loss of time. The judges were ignorant pretenders, who
held their courts in little public houses, and were absolu-
tely the dependent on the seigneur. Fines were imposed at
Fines. every change of property, in the direct as well as the collater-
al line, and fines on sales, to the 8th and even the 6th
penny, tolls at the mill, the oven, and the wine & cider
press. x Tolls. By this horrible tax, the people are bound to
grind their corn at the mill of the seigneur only; to press their
grapes at his press only; and to bake their bread in his oven,
Mills. ovens. by which means the bread is often spoiled and, more especially
the wine, since in Champagne those grapes which, pressed im-
Wine press. mediately, would make white wine, will be waiting for
the press, which often happens, make red wine only. x

Destructive servitudes also, were imposed, under which the peasants, almost on a level with Polish slaves, could never but be miserable, vile and oppressed.

The petitions demand also, that the use of the handmills be free, and hope that posterity, if passive, may be ignorant that a feudal tyrant in Brittany, armed with judicial power, has not mushed in these times, at breaking handmills and, at selling annually to the miserable, the penalty of bruising between 2 stones, a measure of buck wheat or barley.

p. 536.

Rental. As the Revolution advanced, I learned that the principal rental of many estates consisted in services & feudal tenures, by the which the industry of the people was almost exterminated. In regard to the oppressions of the clergy as to tythes, I must do that body a justice to which a claim cannot be laid in England. Though the ecclesiastical tenth was levied more severely than is usual in Italy, yet it was never exacted with such horrid rigidness as is at present the disgrace of England. When taken in kind it never exceeded a twelfth, thirteenth, or even a twentieth of the produce.

Feudal tenures.

Priests & clergy, less than English clergy.

p. 537.

The administration of justice was partial, venal, inamous. Every one confessed that no such thing as justice could be looked for. The conduct of the parliaments was profligate and atrocious. Upon almost every cause that came before them, interest was openly

Parliaments.

made with the judges, & if by no other means, then by a handsome wife. p. 537

These parliaments had the power and constantly exerted it, of issuing decrees, without the consent of the crown, which had the force of laws throughout the whole of their jurisdiction, and of all other courts, these were sure to be the best obeyed.... The English who met in France in 1789, were surprised to see some of these bodies issuing decrees against the export of corn out of the provinces so as to shut their jurisdiction into the neighboring provinces, at the same time that the King, through M. Necker, was decreeing an absolutely free transport of corn throughout the Kingdom, and even at the requisition of the National Assembly itself.... The bigotry, ignorance, false principles & tyranny of these bodies were generally conspicuous, and the Court, however accepted, never had a dispute with a parliament, but that the parliament was sure to be wrong. pp. 537 8.

Parliaments

French peasants

Slaves.

If it to the people we must impute the horrors of the Revolution, or to their oppressors, who had kept them so long in a state of bondage? To who chooses to be served by slaves, and ill treated slaves, must know that he holds both his property and life by a tenure far different from those who enjoy the service of well treated freemen. p. 539

But who records the suffering of the oppressed? Who gives us the awards of the intendant and his sub delegues,

Young's Travels in France. - 1787-8-9.

which took off the taxes of a man of fashion, and laid them (with accumulated weight) on the poor, who were so unfortunate as to be his neighbors. ... In all these cases, the sufferers are too ignoble to be known, and the mass too indiscriminate to be pitied. p. 359.

Tiring the poor.

Among the list of the grievances of the French peasants, which Young calls unfortunate, is Silence des grenouilles, to which is appended the following note, "This is a curious article: when the lady of the seigneur lies in, the people are obliged to beat the waters in marsh districts to keep the poor frogs quiet, that the man not be disturbed; this duty, a very oppressive one, is commuted into a pecuniary fine." p. 537.

Nursing.

Stays for infants.

Lausanne. Women of the first ranks are now ashamed of not nursing their own children; and stays are universally proscribed from the bodies of the poor infants, which were for so many ages tortured in them, as they are still in Spain. I p. 58.

See advertisement of child of 14 months old with bone stays on. on p. 177- Vol. 1. Mrs. Notes.

Germany

Germany the seat of our History, Literature, Social Condition, &c. Illustrated in Unusual Manner, Political Statistics in comparison with other Countries, by Josiah Hawkins, M. D. Com. F.R.S. London 1835

Pop. of Germany.

The number of inhabitants in Germany in 1835, was 37.336.825

Birth,

[illegible] revolt in Austria to repudiate [illegible] of [illegible] of war & [illegible] [illegible] 150. Mosaic de [illegible], p. 13.

Matthias was sovereign of the arch duchy of Austria in 1618. His brother Ferdinand owned Carinthia, Styria, Carniola. Ferdinand was the enemy of protestants, and he depopulated these parts of his domains and repeopled them with Catholics. Protestants were illegal & emigrated, but those who chosen to Catholicism were treated with grace. They paid no tolls, nor taxes, & were granted many monopolies. The peasants were compelled to bring up to them their children for menial service and could sell nothing except to their feudal king who fixed the price. This caused insurrections, which left the peasants slaves to the nobility. p. 11.

Tyrol

Matthias

rule

Protestants

Catholics favored.

The unhappy termination of the war of 1806, brought about a complete change of Prussian policy. The government came near to ruin. In order to infuse activity into the people serfdom was abolished. The plebian was allowed to purchase the estates of ennoblemen, the nobility was made liable to conscription, and army promotion took place irrespective of birth. Thus in the majority of German states, the nobility lost the greater part of its privileges. At the peace of 1815, it appeared to never be in portance. But the resistance which, inspirated by the army, was loved by the people, was no longer willing to return the monarchy to its former power, though he was disposed to engage in it favors. The peasant could no longer be driven into serfdom, nor the commoner excluded from civil and military posts, nor deprived of estates legally obtained. pp. pp. 5.

1806.

Prussia.

serfdom abolished.

Increase rank.

Army

people

monarch

restore former power.

Hawkins Germany.

Condition of German labor.

The German laborer seated at table in a public garden, with his meerschaum pipe, listening to excellent music, surrounded by his family, is no mean spectacle of human happiness & respectability. The fare of the German peasant is strictly composed of black, heavy, rye bread, with vegetables, and dairy produce; meat is a rare luxury in many rural districts. p. 270.

p. 10.

meat rare.

Liquors, and meat eaten.

The facilities of obtaining liquor in the Protestant German States, and the large proportion of natural children are the weak side of German morality. p. 282.

Hawkins to commends public gardens for.

The author is inclined to amuse the poor of England as they do in Germany. He says instead of holding out to the poor expectations which cannot be realized and corporations, than encourage them on those principles they depend, he would encourage for the long-run in them a taste for innocent pleasures, such as public gardens. p. 288.

Paupers 1 in 23.

In the empire of Austria, the proportion of agricultural classes to the manufacturers, is said to be 4 to 1. The proportion of paupers is 1 in 23. The population in 1857, was 33,482,692. p. 305.

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Government interference.

Vaccination is the most minute details affecting the health & well-being of the subject is remarkable. I am far from saying that the sanitary interference is nothing of imitation in all respects, but in some its rules are laudable. The sick poor are well taken care of. The state physician examines every dead body, be-

fore burial. The sale of bad food is checked. No drug can be sold except prescribed by a licenced practitioner. It is even said that the musicians at the Bottes are ordered to play only cheerful tunes.

Marriage 1 in 136. — Ireland 1 in 10.

The authorities are indulgent parents to the submissive but stern & unyielding to the discontented. There is 1 annual marriage to 136 individuals. About every tenth child is a bastard. The mean duration of life is 33 1/5 years. In Bohemia the instances born are 1 in 8. p. 364.

Deaths 1 in 34.

The deaths are 1 in 30 to 34. Of 3955 children born in Prague, 1404 were bastards, more than 1/3. p. 312.

In Vienna, one of the most orderly cities, pauperism is kept out of sight. p. 313.

Income.

The average income of every Austrian is estimated at 182 francs, or 7 guineas annually. p. 318.

Ruling class.

In Prussia, the exclusive right of presiding over the Assemblies, Committees, & Commissions of the State, is vested in the Equestrian Order. This order being composed of general landlords, the independence of the country Representatives is a mere dead letter. p. 326.

1807 Bondage & serfdom abolished. 1819

The King of Prussia by the edict of Oct. 1807, abolished bondage & serfdom, and in 1819, he extended the abolition of judicial servitude to the expositions in Saxony, and to other districts where it still remained in force. p. 327.

In the selection and recompence of his servants, the Prussian

government is particularly careful. Rank is not at all pre-
ferred, but the questions asked any intendant before he
can be received into the service, amount to nearly 80. Some
of the inquiries are very minute and personal. Besides name, age,
birth, condition, parents, education, some calling, a candi-
date is asked if whether he, or his wife has ever made done
their station, what recreation they use partial to, how
much rent they pay, how many rooms they have with
doors in them, how many servants and at what wages,
Is the candidate honest, honorable, discreet, courageous, dis-
interested, cheerful, polite, temperate, diligent, serious,
worthy, studious; Is he given to blustering, insanity, or
violent outbursts; Is he passionate, or bad a liking? Is he
inclined to gambling or turmoil, is he inconsiderate, vindictive,
or servile? Is he curious to the low jaunts community?
Does he know how to make his inferiors perform their duty?
pp. 329-30.

Officials carefully selected.

21 questions asked.

Berlin, 1 in 6¼ bastards,

In the year 1833, 7,341 children were born in Berlin, of
whom 1491 were illegitimate, - about 1 in 6¼. According
to Chaves, a Prussian with a civil family, in Prussia,
receives annually for his support 102 Prussian dollars. Of
the 1491 bastards, 738 died shortly after birth. p. 322.

half die.

In 1834, there were in the government district of Potsdam,
26,548 births, of which 2163 were illegitimate - 1 child in 12.

Potsdam 1 in 12 bastards,

Servants, who seduce the daughters or other relations, to whom or

Bonds. second & infinite in rank, they cannot be married, or be committed to the house of correction for 1 to 3 years. When the rank is equal, for 6 months. Bonds. A parent & child of opposite sexes are forbidden to sleep together after the child is 10 yrs, also boys & girls of more than 10. p. 337.

In Bavaria, no marriage can take place between humble persons, not possessing some capital, unless by permission of the Cor authorities of each town & village. The authorities of the town bound responsible for the maintenance of the unmarried, if they have given their leave. The parents are also responsible, if they have married such persons without leave of the authorities. p. 347.

Bavaria. Marriage.

Food. The people live principally on potatoes, flour & milk. Beer is their favorite beverage. p. 347. Vaccination is performed at the expense of the State and parents are obliged to submit their children to the operation. p. 349. Vaccination.

The average number of illegitimate births in Bavaria, established in 1833, the attention of the upper chamber of Representatives, proved in a Bavarian, the rate in the most dissolute parts of the most dissolute cities of Europe. In Munich, the numbers of legitimate & illegitimate children are about equal. In 1828, at Munich the natural children born were 990, the legitimate 1030. — In 1834, natural children, 1291. legitimate 1339. p. 350. Bavaria "bastards" "women" in 2 bastards.

The public income of Saxony in 1833, was 3,434,210 dollars, equal to about £815,000. 2½ Saxon dollars = 7s 6d sterling. The Saxon dollar equals about 65 cents our money. p. 353. Saxon dollar = 65 cents.

Continue Germany.

Widowers, In 1834, there were 90.136 widowed persons, of whom the widowers were to the widows, as 29 to 7. A man may not marry before 21. if he is liable to serve in the army. In Dresden, [illegible] citizens are not allowed to marry until they become masters of their trade. The number of married persons living separate was strikingly numerous. The proportion of illegitimate to legitimate births in Saxony on the average afforded by the years from 1821 1824, was 1 in 6. p. 357.

restricted;

Bastards in Saxony 1 in 6.

In the Kingdom of Hanover, considerable aids exist for the relief of the poor and their children, as well as several institutions, but those are well themselves, of them are obliged to make a public procession through the towns twice a year. p. 390.

Hanover. Poor and make procession.

In the Kingdom of Würtemberg, in 1812, 13 & 14, there were born 158,257 children, 17.199 of them illegitimate. From 1815 to 1829, the no. of children born in Würtemberg was 26,351, of whom 2,997 were illegitimate - equal to about 1 in 8½, illegitimate. p. 401.

Würtemberg. Bastards 1 in 8½.

From the years 1813 to 1829, 31.428 persons emigrated. This is explained by the great advantages which the U.S. offer to poor & industrious settlers. No man is allowed to marry until his 25th year, on account of his military duties, unless permission has been obtained, & purchased. At that age, he must obtain permission which is granted on proof that he or his [illegible] will be competent to maintain a family; viz, in large towns, from 800 to 1000 florins; - in smaller, from 400 to 600. in [illegible] 200. They must not be persons of inso-

Emigration to U.S.

Marriage restricted.

derlin lives and they must not have received any assistance from their parish within the last 3 years. p. 402.

deaths. In the Grand Duchy of Mecklenbourg Schwerin, the general mortality, after through an enumeration have more or less the number of births, etc.

Marriage restricted. Marriages are delayed by the conscription, (at 21) and by military service for 6 years. The parties also must have a dwelling, without which, no clergyman is permitted to marry them. 441.

Lubeck marriage. In the free city of Lubeck, before a man is allowed to marry, he must have that he is in regular employ, which will enable him to maintain a wife, until become a burgher, & must inform himself as a burgher, guard, costing rind 8 4. sterling.

Fare. The fare for the poor at the Work house, daily per individual is 1½ pounds coarse rye bread, ½ pounds of butter, or jacky, & sometimes rice, a bottle of weak beer, and monthly 1½ pounds meat, & half a pound of butter, lard, or fat to cook it with. p. 467.

1½ lbs. meat a month.

In Hamburg, in 1832, the number of persons buried at public expence was 15) a nearly 1 of all the bodies. The dead poor are extremely numerous, living generally in cellars. p. 467.

1 of 10 dead paupers.

Hawkins Germany.

Comparative Table of the Proportion of Legitimate to Illegitimate Births, in various Countries and Cities of Germany, and of other European States. Most of the authorities are derived from the Foreign Returns made to the Poor Law Commission, printed in

Proportion of legitimate to illegitimate children in Germany & other European states.

Countries.	
In Belgium, there are	21 to 1
Courland, in Russia	20 to 1
England	19 to 1
Sweden,	16 to 1
North Holland	15 to 1
Norway	14 to 1
France	13 to 1 about.
Prussia	13 to 1
Wales	12 to 1 about.
Austria	9 to 1
Denmark.	9 $\frac{651}{1000}$ to 1
Mecklenburg.	9 to 1
Bohemia.	7 to 1
Saxony	7 to 1
Wurtemburg	7 10 to 1.
Azores	7 to 1
Hesse Darmstadt, according to Fellow.	4 to 1.

Cities.	
Gottingen.	16 to 1
Manchester, according to Roberton.	12 to 1
Bremen	11 to 1 about.
Ostend	9 to 1

Havre 9 to 1 about	
Vantes	8 to 1
Berlin, according to Casper,	7 to 1.
Brussels,	7 to 1.
Frankfort, 6 7/10	6 7/10 to 1.
Dantzic	6 1/2 to 1.
Lubeck,	6 to 1.
Copenhagen, in 1825,	5 to 1.
Towns of Courland,	5 to 1.
Marseilles	5 to 1
Madrid, (Benoiston de Chateauneuf.)	4 to 1 about.
Paris	3 to 1 "
Lisbon, according to Balbi,	2 to 1 " .
Munich, in 1823 & 1834.	1 to 1 " .

p. 473.

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Germany, from 1760 to 1814, or Sketches of German Life, from the Decay of the German Empire to the Expulsion of the French. By Mrs. Austen. — London, 1854.

Mrs. Austen. Sources of information.

The authoress says in the Preface, that the materials of her book are three articles in the Edinburgh Review, in 1842, 4, 5, with an article in Blackwood, in the British Foreign Quarterly, of 1841, and other sources. "Mrs. Austen had good long in Germany, & during her residence in Berlin says "I read everything I could find on the war of the liberation & learned all I could from those

who had shared in the ruin & restoration of Prussia. p. 28.

Within the 19th century, patriarchical authority in families seemed to have been nearly absolute, according to Mme. Schopenhauer. "There existed," said she, "in every principal family of Danzig, a family tribunal to which every member was amenable, presided over by the head of the family. When a girl, I was introduced by my mother to the assembly. We wore full dress. The old man sat in the grandfather's chair, and the other members were ranged on each side of him, according to age & precedence. Soon two very young men of the family were called up and reprimanded by the patriarch for some misdemeanor, a thirst getting in debt. They stood perfectly abashed and pale as death, their friends not daring to interpose in their behalf. The rebuke ended they were dismissed. p. 23.

Patriarchal authority in families & family tribunals.

Servants for life. Absolute power.

In the leading families, servants were servants for life — and made no resistance to the absolute power of their masters, see Anecdote, p. 36.

Domestic revolution. 1810

Since the beginning of the 19th century, the relations between master & servant throughout Europe have been very ameliorated. Previously, the old feudal feeling which formed a tie of the independent & moral nature, had pervaded the whole of Society, indeed it survived to a much later period in Dantzig. Mme. Schopenhauer speaks of her visit to Dantzig, long after her mother had quitted it. She was there attended by a Polish woman, formerly in the family service. On here-

Strong feelings of a lady.

tings from balls & parties, she accidentally found this woman lying at the foot of a rate cutting on her with a carbine, & the sweat ran off in drops. She was indignant when accosted with, and said, "I hope I shall end & be taught my duty." Some acquaintance says she was persuaded that the woman would have died there without the smallest idea that she had been with the troops. p. 38.

Effect of American War.

In the numerous German memoirs, reminiscences, &c, in which we have sought information, we are struck with the unanimity on one point, the mighty impression made on all minds by the American war. It seems to have startled Europe to its remotest bounds, and its deepest recesses. The hearts of men were stirred with strange hopes and lofty aspirations for their race. 48-9.

Stiffens.

My father, says Stiffens, had invited a few guests; the triumph of the Americans, — the cause of popular freedom, was eagerly discussed, and a sort of resentiment of the great wrongs which were proceed from this triumph, yielded before the minds of the party. p. 51.

Border aristocracy more than equal in Hamburg.

The hauteur of the burgher aristocracy of Hamburg, says Mme. Schopenhauer, exceeded that of kings & princes. At any public ceremony, marriages, christenings & even at the holy supper, it broke forth in a flagrant manner, and gave occasion to the most disgraceful scenes, especially among women. One a married could not have been connected in public with the first citizen of the town. This was esteemed proper only for the lower bourgeoisie, p. 63.

Begging of footmen. At Dresden, I felt forlorn on foot by the side of the carriages and the half naked shrunkies flocked in troops to weed the fields around the city for the barest pittance. p. 8.

On Easter Sunday, visits were made to wish happy festival, accompanied in the past, in Russia, Poland, or Bohemia, with the mark of respect still to be seen in Russia, Poland, or Bohemia, kissing the hem of the garment. "I was walking with the late Countess of near her Castle in Bohemia, the Countess spoke kindly to a peasant woman we met & passed on, I looked around and saw the woman hastily kissing the hem of the Countess' dress. p. 88.

Kissing the hem of the garment.

The broad lines of demarcation between the several classes of society were kept up especially by sumptuary laws. These were invariably maintained by the municipal aristocracies of free cities. These were in full force within the present century. At the weddings even of the wealthiest and most respectable artisans, an officer, whose special business it was, invariably presented himself in full dress, and at its close, if found the wife and children did not exceed the prescribed number, and that the bride wore no forbidden ornaments, such as real pearls. But the fear of being ridiculous also had its effect. No woman of the Citizen class, thought of wearing boots, rich trims, or high head dresses of the ladies. Mrs. Austen laments that no woman of any class in England has now the least idea that any dress is unfit for her station, which she has the means to buy.

Sumptuary laws.

Mrs. A. regretted to end in Eng.

In this respect Mrs. Austen says, "we are far behind Belgium, France, and I fear, all Europe."

Saddler's wife.

A wealthy saddler of Vienna never allowed his wife to wear any lace, even her women of the higher ranks. His regard was so great, says Dr. Schlez, that he on hearing of a piece of a beautiful lace cap which his wife had made in secret. This was from 1780 to 1790..... The journeymen in Vienna then ate at the master's table and his children dined at one, for enforced on both children & women with an iron rod & strap. pp. 90. 91.

Mrs. Austen's sources of information.

A large inspection of German traits of character in Mrs. Austen's ch. 10, taken from "Recollections of an Old & Hard Life" by Baron Johanna Schopenhauer. 2 vols. Brunswick. 1854. and "Sketches of By Gone Times. Vienna in the Latter Half of the 18th Century." By Baron Carolin Pichler. Vienna. 1844. Neither of the books have been translated.

Dantzic, custom houses.

At the partition of Poland, in 1772, the free city of Dantzic, constitutionally under the protection of Poland was surrounded by a cordon of Prussian custom houses. Citizens could not go to or from the country without exposure to brutal insolence. Ladies & children were forced to stand in rain & storm while their carriages were searched. Even their persons were not respected & women of the lower classes were roughly insulted. p. 101.

Memoirs of Charles Henry.

Another book from which much is drawn concerning Germany is the "Memoirs of Charles Henry, Knight of Lung: Sketches of my Life & Adventures. By Himself & my Sons." 2 vols. 12mo. Brunswick. 1842". Lung seems to have been an adventurer, who

at different times, in the quality of private secretary, or the like, was in the service of several German, mostly petty, sovereigns. p. 104.

Lange was born in 1764. at Reise, in Swabia. It was in the Principality called Oettingen Spielberg. p. 111. His grandfather was the Prince's Lay Secretary, or Rent-Master, & was a man of some property. p. 115. The poor prodigal Lords at the time, 1756 56, usually placed their property at the head of their affairs, to be used for the support of their own tottering credit. When the sponge was squeezed dry, they threw it away and took another. p. 115.

Rent master.

When the wife of Prince Ulrich Ernst, wanted to go to the Baths of Pyrmont, he called on his rent master for 500 ducats, out of the great fest, and if not have, run out; in a word, and was the ordinary course of things. Lange father died early, & in 1771. he went with his uncle to Hohenlohe, where Prince Wolfgang Ernst held his court. "How did I stare," says he, "at the running footmen, with their silver fringed aprons, how did we run when we heard the cry, 'The Prince! the Prince!' I heard of the Emperor, but all that was too remote. The greatest man living in my eyes, was the Lord in whose small territory I lived. p. 121.

Shared loans.

Running return.

Prince's hire!

Curious custom of first law existed at Hohenlohe among the peasantry. The bride was violently seized at her father's door by the bridegroom and friends, and carried off full gallop to her future home, holding a new broom with fluttering ribbons. p. 123.

Hohenlohe peasant marriage, hen "decked.

When Lange's education was finished, he went to Vienna, in

Long ceremonious serve father.

bench of employment. The superior lepidoptera of Hungarian rank, and when his sons rise, you see in the middle distance, placing themselves behind the chair of master & mistress till a few dishes have been handed, when the butler took round, give their hand to the attendant to kiss, who resumes his seat and another takes his place. p. 127.

Called up by speaking trumpet.

At 4 in the morning, the old Lord called up his legacies with a speaking trumpet, Domine Velez! Sergus! Domine Provisor! Domine Cancellista! Fremenlaw! Servus! He did not desist till he saw through the window the flickering of their waxlighted candles, & received their morning salutation, Salve, Domine, perillustris! The Slavonian seemed to me, [Lang] little better than half swine, half wolf. He works little, and drinks & sleeps away most of his time. When he wants food, he goes to the swamp, kills a pig, roasts it whole, & eat it with the skin on & eat even it till it is quite putrid. Once, when travelling with others in a carriage, stopped. The drivers & pandours took out their luggage, kissed our coats, knelt down to ask "trink-geld" and then departed." p. 131.

Slavonian peasant.

Drivers kissing hands.

One of the German Princes, whom Lang served in 1797, [his title not given] is thus described as a despotic justice. "There were often 5 or 6 different decisions, in one cause. "Once a poor lad," says Lang, "who had got years in prison, because the magistrates did not know which of the sentences to pass, them to execute. At last, he decided the matter for himself by breaking jail and running away." p. 135.

The Lord was a tyrant.

Mrs. Austen: Germany from 1760 to 1814.

Long, while copying the archives of Ansbach, found the following rules of Count Ernbrand Christopher von Wardenberg, who reigned in 1666. The rules for house & court from the 10th of March, 1666, begin by believing it his sacred duty that they so rule, stupid & unbelieving sinners, that he is going to give them some regulations for their lives & manners, and that he shall punish any departure therefrom. He who can give no account of the sermon on Sunday shall eat his dinner like a dog lying on the floor. Whoever swears shall kneel for an hour on the sharp edge of a plank. Whoever neglects the Words Supper, shall ride on an ass, loaded with heavy weights, or receive a flogging. The meals shall be served in good order, & the dishes taken away with a bow. If any one puts his finger or mouth into the dishes, he shall be made to eat everything. Every one called on shall say grace in a clear audible voice. If he hesitates, or stutters, he shall receive six fillips on the nose. If he wails with dirty hands, another shall pour water on them, & dry them with two sharp rods till they bleed. If he wails uncombed, he shall be curried with the curry comb in the stable. When the repast is over, the servants are to close with a reverence, under pain of six fillips on the nose. Whoever pilfers a piece of pie and then drops it, shall be whipped 20 lashes. p. 155-6.

Here are many more similar regulations & Mrs. Austen concludes that one thinks with horror of intruding the histories of men by the process of a penal code like this.

Lang's Memoirs close in 1804. p. 156.

Court & household rules.

There was no political life in Germany. The biographer of Wilhelm von Humboldt in accounting for the purely literary & scientific career of that great statesman in early manhood, says, "Governments in Germany & people were equally lapsed." When Frederic William 3rd came to the throne of Prussia in 1797, there was neither national nor political feeling. It was only in matters purely intellectual that men like Humboldt could take part. p. 197.

n.n. towards rel. of Germans.

The want of legitimate outlet for political ardor, or employment for political activity in Germany, the morbid & unmanly tone of mind, which this want produced, rendered Germans peculiarly prone to enthusiasm & political delusions. p. 200.

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Germany: Her Resources, Government, Union of Customs, and Power, under Frederick William IV. With a Preliminary View of the Political Condition of Europe & America in 1848. By John Macgregor. M.P. London. 1848.

man. horse.

Helvetius said that if the hands of man were formed like the hoofs of a horse, he would never have attained more intelligence than that animal. p. VII.

The wisdom of the republican leaders and the rupture of despotism, obstinacy, & weakness of the the British cabinet, from the beginning to the end of the American war, were equally extra-

Contrast, Dr. Johnson. ordinary. The minister seemed governed by feelings like those of Dr. Johnson, when he said "Sir, they are a race of convicts and ought to be thankful for anything we allow them, short of hanging." p. XIV.

Am. war. French revolution. The officers sent to America by France carried back high revolutionary principles & feelings, which were afterwards avowed or betrayed at the leading. These notions soon subverted the whole royal government. p. XV.

Trade of Spanish Colonies. The Anglo-Saxon Colonists who planted N.E. & the middle U.S. provinces, carried on a lucrative contraband trade, with Cuba, Mexico, & S.A. — All sorts of British manufactures were exchanged for precious metals & gems. These were mostly remitted to England. The Spanish Colonists warmly encouraged a commerce which supplied them with the best articles at half the price paid to Spain. The colonial authorities connived at a trade the profits of which they shared, colossal fortunes were made in two or three years by generals & intendants, but the colonial policy of Spain was undermined. Spain established a fleet & garda costas along the colonial shores, they ruthlessly seized all British vessels, and this was the chief cause of the war of 1734, (1740) p. XX.

Land in Germany, & land holdings. Landed property in Germany, as well as in many other continental states, was, in the beginning of the present century, held under baronial, peasant, and bourgeois tenures. The

Serfs.

adscripti glebæ.

Master could inflict flog.

Improvement begun in 1811.

first was that of the nobility, who were exempted, as it still the case in Hungary, from public taxes, and who enjoyed many other special privileges. The serfs born on the baronial lands were adscripti glebæ, and laboured both in cultivating the feudal reserve, or the benefit of the lord. The latter had civil and criminal jurisdiction over his serfs in his baronial court, in which his own judge presided, and if they were found guilty, sent by him to the baronial prison, or were flogged by his bailiff for laziness or other offences. The serfs had small cottages and patches of land on the estate, which they cultivated in their posterior, during spare hours, allowed them for the purpose. They paid the tithes out of their earnings to the priest or minister, and fees to the doctor, school master and judge. p. 95.

Next were the peasant holdings, Bauern Höfe, held usually under a seignorial tenure from the superior lord, subject to the payment of certain dues, quit-rents, and a certain weekly portion of labour.

Ameliorating the condition of these peasants, and even of the serfs, was commenced in the last century. But it is to the late King of Prussia that the praise of abolishing feudal servitude is justly to be attributed. Under Prince Hardenberg's administration, not only the peasants but the serfs were made owners of the lands they occupied, on paying a sum equal to the actual annual quit rents which they had been paying to the manorial baron. These quit rents were moderately valued by royal commissioners, and commuted by purchasing them from the baron, under the direction of the commissioners. p. 98.

The payment for the commutation being usually a transfer of the lands of a part, (equal to the rated value of full rent,) of the land occupied by the serf or peasant. If the serfs or peasants were enabled to pay the commutation in money they had the option of retaining the whole of the land they occupied.

Imperial continued.

The real nature of the tenures of property and burdens fully canvassed between 1807 and 1821, when the whole was completed. In the other states of Germany the feudal tenures may be said to have disappeared, and in all there are a great number of divisions & small proprietorships.

p. 98.

Würtemberg p. 110.

The food of factory hands in Würtemberg consists of potatoes, bread, and other farinaceous substances, and they rarely taste meat more than once a week, i.e. on Sundays. Prussia in 1811, after the treaty of Tilsit, was necessitated to extend her sources of revenue. A new tax was imposed on the grinding of corn, about 1s. to the Winchester bushel. This tax was collected at the mills, the use of private hand-mills was strictly forbidden. This law was evaded by the use of mortars, and by mixing pounded grain with water, they manufactured bread paste. The government in consequence arranged for grinding tax, like a personal tax, levying it on every male over 12 yrs. 154.

Russian dollar 3s.

The Russian dollar equals about 3s. sterling.

A Reply to the Personal Invectives on an Essay in Regard to the Conversion of African Slaves &c. By the Rev. James Ramsay. London, 1786.

Palatines. Lind says the Palatines died in clearing the lands in Jamaica. p. 60.

"brought on his scholars". The School master, [in St. Christophers] was not encouraged. Mr. Scot brought on his scholars to the edification of their parents but he himself was left to starve. p. 94.

[Note the phrase "brought on", in common use in the same sense in Eastern Pennsylvania, doubtless introduced by the Scotch Irish in the last century. Mr. Ramsay was a native of Fragersburg, Aberdeenshire.]

White & black slaves in Barbados. White slaves employed 1691.

Negroes intended for sale in other parts of Barbados, till the gradual introduction of African drove the others out. By Irish Registers it appears that numbers of white men were employed with negroes after 1680. A single planter had procured a company of [white] men for the attack on Guadeloupe, under Codrington, about 1691. This was told to the author, [Ramsay] by the owner of it. p. 81.

Stays on Children.

Stays. In Connecticut stays were placed on infants, in Vol. I p. 171, & Vol. 7. p. 15. MS. note on Education.

Col. Thomas children. The Misses Brooke of this city, third daughters of Col. Thomas, of the Revolution, but my, and Dear aunts Mary & Kitty, who were born about 1770 - 1772, used to say that they & the other infants of Col. Thos., were put

Stiff collars

in stays, which they wore when dressed, along through their corsets, waist, and stiff collars, to make them hold their heads up. They, likewise, had heavy weights placed in the sleeves of their dresses, at the elbows, in order to make their arms hang upright, and set back their shoulders. They were never allowed to lean a-

weights in sleeves &c.

gainst the back of the chair, when sitting. — Col. Shea was the partner in business of Richard Bache, who married the only daughter of B. Franklin. His own wife was a Livingston, the Livingstons being one of the most distinguished colonial families of Philadelphia.

Extract in Living Age, for Jan. 1850, from "The Month", on the "Monasteries & the Poor Laws".

"The idea that the dissolution of the Monasteries, was the cause of impoverishing the Poor Laws, was opposed by William Smith with great warmth. The monasteries in the middle ages, besides being centres of religion, learning &c, fulfilled two functions, one, that as land owners, they were the best landlords, so that their tenants, rendering moderate service or rents, were secure from enclosures & evictions, & in times of distress were not compelled to part with their holdings. — The second function was to serve as shelters for travellers, hospitals for the sick, and centres of relief for the poor .... But immediately before the Revolution, the offices of relieving the poor assumed a new character, the monasteries were the one sanctuary of refuge for the multitudes who had been chased out of house & home by inclosure & expro-

Wrote to Prior.

frictions"... The blind eleemosynary spirit inculcated by the Romish Church"... that "Church received with bodily rigours or evening bare recipients door & the rolled peasantry, & instead them to be not relieved - was a little longer. With the dissolution of the monasteries, this resource failed, and the number of impotent, as well as able-bodied poor, was enormously increased by the fresh evictions of the peasantry from the lands seized from the Church. Last - target could hired in hand with busy hangmen & foreign mercenaries, to clear off the surplus population. When this work was well advanced, it became possible to deal with normal ordinary poverty, and a Poor Law which before was impossible, took the place of monasteries. Instead of "God's Poor" came parish paupers; instead of the "bail" of the monasteries which relieved rent, or the tax of "Tithe" came Mr. Spende notwithstanding) the worldly harshness of a Poor Law.

Granville Sharp's pet "Abolition of Slavery." London, 1776.
No. 2. Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in Maryland to his Friend in London. -

Conditions in Maryland before 1776.

"The punishments of the poor negroes & convicts, are beyond all conception. Being entirely subject to the will of their savage & brutal masters, they are often punished for not doing more than strength & nature will admit of, and sometimes because they can't on every occasion fall in with their wanton & capricious humours. One common punishment is to flay their backs with cow hides, or other instruments of barbarity, and then pour on hot rum, superinduced with brine, or pickle,

rubbed in with a corn husk, in the scorching heat of the Sun. For certain, if your judges were sensible of the shocking treatment of the convicts here, they would hang every one of them, as an infinitely less punishment, and transport only those, whose crimes deserve the severest death. Better be hanged seven hundred times, than serve seven years here! and there is no redress, for magistrates and all are equally in-[illegible] and [illegible]. If I had a child, I had rather see him the [illegible] [illegible] in the streets of London, than the loftiest tyrant in America, with a thousand slaves at his beck." pp. 42-43.

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An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, both as a Penal Settlement and as a British Colony. By John Dunmore Lang, D.D. 2nd Ed. London 1837.

Vol. I

In 1790, & 1791. a military corps, called the New South Wales Corps, was raised in England for the service of the colony. p. 63.

Officers The greater part of the officers took female convicts
& under their protection, and employed them occasionally
[illegible] in the retail business... There was no attempt at con-
[illegible] cealment, and the prison population laughed at their
/ superiors for outdoing them in profligacy. p. 69.

checked It is a lamentable fact that the reformation of the con-
reform.

victs, which under good influences would have been rapid, was checked at the outset, and has been counteracted at every step since, by the vicious practice and example of a large proportion of the free inhabitants. p. 70.

Political conduct, of high character.

Muir, Skirving, Margarot, and Gerald, convicted of stimulating the people of G. B. to effect a reform of Parliament in 1793, exiled to this colony, under sentence from 7 to 14 years, all of them men of superior moral character. Mr. Muir, one of Scotland's most valuable patriots in the best of Scotland, and a lawyer. Transportation to a penal settlement was then unknown to the Scottish law. p. 74.

Rum drunkenness.

During Governor King's administration, the third governor, commencing 1804, the population consisted only of those who sold rum and those who drank it. p. 81.

no marrying.

General dissolution of morals was the result. marriage was not thought of. p. 83.

Rev. R. Cowl.

In 1804, a considerable number of convicts were removed from Norfolk Island to Port Jackson. Among the free inhabitants there, resisted the form of government, and address from the Island, stating that they were not opposed to the association. p. 86.

In 1802, about a dozen families of free emigrants, mostly

from the Scottish border arrived, induced by a free passage, and the grant of 100 Acres of land. They were Presbyterians, settled near Portland Head, and have been a most orderly and successful settlement. In 1809, they had erected a church, the first in the territory, by voluntary subscription. p. 90.

Scotch emigrants.

In 1811, it was in evidence that for want of currency, rum was used. officers, clergy, and all were under the necessity of paying for the necessities of life in that commodity. The colony could not get labor performed generally without it. p. 96.

rum currency.

Under Hunter and King, a considerable number of free emigrants and emancipated convicts had settled on the rich banks of the Nepean & Hawkesbury rivers. p. 98.

free & convict settlers.

Lang, in travelling, speaks of passing the night with a settler, who, originally transported as a notorious smuggler, was then a reputable inhabitant of land, and the father of a well educated and respectable family. p. 103.

smuggler, became a respectable.

In Jan. 1808, the Judge advocate, not having received a legal education, employed an Attorney, named Crossley, who had been transported for perjury, to draw indictments, and he was frequently consulted on law matters, by consent of Gov. King, who had previously pardoned him. p. 113.

Crossley. " perjured lawyer. the "government adviser.

Free emigrants.

Many emigrated with capital small grants of land, for many of them had been people, and settled in Sydney and other colonial towns, as laborers, mechanics, constables, small traders, and on farms. p. 157.

Gov. Macquarie's administration began in 1809, and ended in 1821. He found only a small portion of the people in Australia to be free emigrants, and from the large number of convicts, not from the almost total cessation from free emigration, the convicts were constantly on the increase. Mr. Bigge's mapping was New South Wales is a country for the reformation of convicts. The people have no right to come to it. p. 175.

Macquarie favors convicts, opposes the free.

He pardoned useful convicts and admitted them to his table. p. 178.

Convict dines with him.

These pardons were frequent. A second term convict is mentioned, who had been charged a ticket of leave, was allowed to open a public house, and finally obtained his emancipation for sending his assigned convict with a cart to carry stores for the road parties.

Convicts assigned convicts.

[It seems that a ticket of leave convict, could have a fresh convict assigned to him.] p. [illegible]

Sir Thomas Brisbane, 6th governor, arrived Dec. 1821. p. 191.

The good distance from the mother country, and the hasty proceeding such emigrants as go to the N. S. Wales

Superior class of emigrants.

Colonies from emigrating to N. S. Wales. but inducements being held out by the Home Government, to those who possess a capital of £500, free emigrants of a higher character began to arrive under this government than those who have generally settled the British N. A. Provinces. Some had been gentlemen farmers. - Others, sons of respectable landowners. Others again, unfortunate merchants. These were expected to transform numerous convicts into an agricultural population. But the plan did not succeed. The freed convicts did not like farming; - they preferred towns. p. 197.

Convict labor was a drug in 1821, and Brisbane being unable to find employment for the increasing number, any respectable man, pledging himself to employ and maintain 20 convict servants, could at once obtain a grant of 2000 A. of land. p. 198.

Convict labor cheap and easily attainable.

Sometimes people went out as indented free servants of the Australian Agri. Company. p. 240.

Indented free servants to Agri. Com.

Governor Sir Richard Bourke, [the 8th] arrived in December, 1831. Under him, the number of convicts assigned was to depend on the extent of land the applicant held. p. 315.

Convicts assigned in proportion to land.

The probability is that at least one half the price will

Juries — ½ emancipated, consist of emancipated convicts. p. 321.

Lang gives an instance of a native of the colony, who was tried by a jury, half of whom were emancipated convicts, for a base, before himself. He was unanimously acquitted, right or wrong, but the jury, at it appeared afterwards, were positively determined to acquit him, right or wrong. p. 328.

Cattle stealing is a common crime. A certain cattle stealer, large, in order to attract practice, gave out that notorious he for one, would make no distinction between free or freed. p. 325.

The 30th of June, 1833, the amount of population was 60,794. ⅘ths consisted of convicts in actual bondage. The remaining ⅕th of free emigrants, natives, and persons who had become free by conditional or pardon.

Free & convict population in 1833.

'Abstract of the Census of the Population of New South Wales, taken in Sept. 1833.

Male.			Female.			Total.
Free.		Convict.	Free		Convict.	
Above 12.	Under 12.		Above 12.	Under 12		
17,542.	5,256.	21,845	8522	4931	2698.	60,794.

p. 453.

Religion.

Protestant.	Roman Catholic.	Jews.	Pagans.	Unknown.
43,096.	17,238.	345.	56.	42. p. 453.

J. D. Lang History of New South Wales.

Vol II.

For some time after the commencement, in 1788, the convict population, except such as were employed as house servants by the officers, were occupied either in agriculture, or in the public works. In process of time, some families of free emigrants arrived, and convicts became free, and many established themselves advantageously in agriculture, or as mechanics, or shop keepers. It then became the practice to assign one or more convicts to persons who could maintain or employ them. Some were employed as house servants, shop men, and mechanics, but the most, as farm-servants and stock keepers, and to encourage good conduct, the best of them were occasionally favored with tickets of exemption from government labors, and allowed to employ themselves to the time specified for their own advantage. The convicts who had served a certain number of years, without fresh misdemeanors, were allowed tickets of leave, during good conduct. The ticket was given to a convict of 7 years at the end of 4, to a convict of 14, at the end of 6, and to a convict for life, at the end of 8. The governor, too, could grant both conditional and absolute pardons, either of which, as well as a certificate of freedom, was supposed to restore him to all the rights and privileges of a free subject in the colony. This system, in many instances, produced reformation.

General course with convicts.

It is to be regretted that a counteracting influence

arising both from the measures of government and the conduct of its officers, was too often started, in the manner of how it reads particularized. Private interests and human passions were supposed to be linked with the population and extension of vice. pp. 1-2. 3.

Free emigration strong in 1831.

The current of free emigration set in strongly in 1831. Till then, the convict population had to be employed by government. It would have been better, if free emigration had set in earlier. p. 4.

No distinction between political & criminal convicts.

The government had the same system in regard to all convicts, paying no heed to the various degrees of criminality. The forger, the highwayman, the betrayer of trust, the thief, the pickpocket and the murderer were all treated precisely like the white boy, from Ireland, who had been transported under the provisions of the Irish Insurrection Acts. There has never been any attempt to classify convicts according to the various degrees of their transmarine crime. This has given rise to a sort of morbid sympathy on the part of a large portion of the colonial community, causing a feeling that the state of the convict was the result of misfortune, rather than crime. p. 8.

No record with convict.

In the earlier years, no record of his guilt was transmitted with the convict. Convicts were landed at Port Jackson like a herd of cattle, one for 7, another for 14 years, a third for life. But why could only a

learned by inspecting the records of the Old Bailey, or the registers of Botany Bay. p. 9.

On the arrival of a ship, the government reserves as many convicts as are required for the public service. The rest are assigned to private applicants under regulations, £1. sterling being paid for each for the clothing & bed clothing, which the convict takes to his new master. If the master lives in Sydney, the convict is employed as a servant. If the master, as is much more frequently the case, resides in the country, the convict is employed as in tending sheep or cattle, or as a farm servant. The convict servants on farms are lodged in huts near the master's house. p. 10.

£1. sterling at arrival.

convict employment.

Their lot is by no means hard; generally they are better clothed, fed and lodged than their outlying farm laborers of Great Britain and Ireland, and their labor is beyond all comparison much less oppressive. Much has been censured, however, of their being treated with too much indulgence. A convict servant, whose insolence to his master has been proved before a magistrate, may be punished by law with 25 lashes. pp. 12-13.

Better than Eng. laborers.

For other misconduct, such as purposely breaking a plow, a convict may be sentenced to 3 months hard labor on the road. p. 14.

Punishments.

Burn stacks.

Burning stacks of wheat in revenge is often the result. 14-

On a journey, Mr. Lang lodged at the cottage of a settler, who had been many years a freed convict.

Emancipist farmer.

"I bought this farm the year I got my liberty," he said "and now have wheat, corn, potatoes, and all we require. At home, I would only have a large house, and all for it. In the world that we came from, and I hope, there's forgiveness for what is past." 20 21.

Langwithes were such.

I could at first [illegible] that so many families of the labouring class, from Great Britain & Ireland were enjoying here, the same comfort & independence. p. 22.

On the same journey, he stopped at a log hut, roofed of split timber and thatched with thatch. It was a farm house of a hundred acre farm. The mistress of it was a native of the colony. Her parents had arrived as convicts.

Emancipist family.

At their freedom, they had obtained a small grant of land, cultivated it, as in Italy, figs and olives, till by good management, they acquired several other farms.

" In the mean time, they reared a family of 14 children, the woman by me. Her husband had been first a cobbler, and been transported for 7 years, from the City of York. He was industrious, and a little money, he made a venturing shop, buying the pawnbroker's tickets, and selling them, and so, when he earned his freedom, he had bought his farm for £55 10s. In the meantime, he had married the woman. They seemed to be a respectable and happy pair. Had he served out his time in England, he would probably have

Tickets of a convict.

[illegible] to his former habits, because he would have lost caste & no respectable master would employ a liberated felon. But in New South Wales, he had become a respectable member of society, the owner of land, horses and cattle, the husband of a virtuous & the father of 7 interesting children. p. 26.

Female convicts arrive, " course pur sued, " marry immediately,

When a female convict ship arrives, the applications for servants are very numerous. The females are only assigned to reputable families. Many of them make good servants and in due time get well married, chiefly to emancipated convicts. The colonial government willingly grants permission, provided she is a spinster or a widow, and on that the intended husband is a freeman, and able to maintain a family. [I bought servants of any kind in the N.S.W. colonies, could never marry, without permission of masters, which was seldom given.]

Respectable native, married a female convict.

About 16 years ago, says Lang, I solemnized a marriage between a respectable young native, the son and a female convict from Paisley, transported for some real practices in a manufacturing establishment in which she was employed. The young man was a carpenter, and his Scotch wife turned out much to his satisfaction. p. 10.

Many of the female convicts conduct themselves in an

Marriage greatly improves female convicts.

unexceptionable manner, and rear large families of interesting young children, when legitimately married in the colony; for it is not an unusual case for a woman, who has been exceedingly depraved and absolutely unmanageable in a single state, to conduct herself with propriety when advantageously married. p. 33.

Free emigrants sometimes marry convicts,

There are instances of persons of the industrious classes of society, who have arrived free in the colony, marrying female convicts, and having no reason subsequently to regret the step they have taken; the experiment, however, is a dangerous one, and is sometimes attended with a different result. p. 33.

Females, formerly imprisoned, now distributed.

The present method is to send female convicts to us immediately on arrival, to various parts of the country that they may be assigned at once to eligible families. Formerly, they were immured on arrival, in the manner of some hundred, in a large prison. The evils of such a system is easily apparent from the fact, as I have observed, that females who had been absolutely unmanageable when imprisoned in a colony, subsequently became comparatively quiet and well behaved wives & mothers of children. p. 34.

Emancipists become constables or tavern keepers.

The first condition of a most unprincipled convict, is to be employed as a constable, a calling which combines sufficient pay with but little work. The next is to obtain a

licence to keep a public house. These houses have greatly increased in the last few years. In 1823, the free population of Sidney amounted to from 8000 to 9000, and the number of these houses was 83, one for each 100 persons. Many, also, sold spirits without licence. p. 218.

Transportation and Colonization; or the Causes of the Comparative Failure of the Transportation System in the Australian Colonies, with Suggestions or Enquiries to Future Offenders in Designing the Colonies Colonization. By John Dunmore Lang, D.D. London. 1837.

Second set of Extracts from Lang. See Vol. II, Select Committee on Emigration of the Poor. pp. 47, 69. & 71.

In ingenious times, such as we now designated them, the Emperor Augustus instituted a second description of banishment, called Deportatio, or transportation, implying banishment for life, with or without hard labor. It is indeed that penal settlements were established, or maintained by the Romans, as the exclusive employment of transported criminals, on the Island of Sardinia, and the Islands of the Mediterranean. The only Europeans that imitated the Roman system in penal settlements were the Portuguese and Spaniards. The latter, not so systematically as the

Roman system as we,

Satisfactory pioneer. The Spaniards merely pardoned certain criminal prisoners in Spain, on condition that they should act as soldiers or sailors, or as menial servants to be employed in the New World colonies. The Portuguese seem to have been in the habit of sending regular draughts of convicts for hard labor in their settlements in Africa and the East Indies. Convicts from the Bagnes are transported to the Penal Settlement "Travaux du Nouvra", in Guiana on the 5th parallel, S.E. off Cape St. Roque. p. 9.

Penal colonies.

37 th. Elizabeth

By the statute 37th Eliz. Cap. 4. 1597 banishment, that is expulsion from the Kingdom was first decreed in England, as the punishment of "dangerous rogues & vagabonds." In the course of his royal progress, James I. saw fit to convert this statute into an act for the transportation of criminals to America." Hence his letter to the Council of Virginia in 1619, commanding them to send out a hundred disolute persons. p. 7.

Banishment.

1617. January 14. construction of 37th. Eliz.

The colonists from Rogue & vagabond days, Maryland, New York & Pennsylvania, were opposed to receiving convicts, Mr. Franklin was at against it, in 1772. Still later, Dr. Franklin was associated with the British ministry against the practice but was told that it was absolutely necessary to remove them from England, and that it must be continued. He replied by asking if the same reason would not also justify the Indians in sending their rattlesnakes to England. p. 12.

U.S. Colonies.

Franklin & rattlesnakes.

These remonstrances had some effect, and in 1776

1[illegible] Gov. to Mr. Hay. 1[illegible] 1[illegible]

It was proposed and debated in Parliament, that provision should be made for transporting criminals, to the East of Africa and to the East Indies.
But the plan was defeated. p. 14.

6000 convicts a year sent to Van Diemen's Land.

The number transported to New South Wales & Van Diemen's Land has been as high as 6000 a year, but the average number is considerably lower. p. 57.

Convicts in N.S.W. too few to give tone to society.

The free emigrants to America were too numerous even to permit convicts to form a separate community, far less to give tone to society. p. 40.

Up to 1818, mostly convict colonies.

For more than 30 years, as to N.S. Wales, and 15, as to Van Diemen's Land, these colonies were almost exclusively convict colonies. p. 42.

Catholics 10% - Prot. 5.

The proportion of Roman Catholics in convict ships from England is 10 per. ct; - that of Protestants, in ships from Ireland is 5 per. ct. p. 46.

In America, a convict could regain his political rights only by causing his crime to be forgotten in his subsequent conduct. But the N.S.W. convict carries them on the record that he has received full punishment for his crimes. p. 53.

In America, [illegible]

In 1810, Gov. Macquarie adopted the principle that

misfortune; its condition of the convicts contrasts life, & evil is obliterated system. in N. S. Wales, and that his situation there should be ascribed unfortunate man rather to misfortune, not to misconduct. All classification was out of the question. p. 90.

The extraordinary facilities for acquiring property, and enormous profits have actually ruined — New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Land, is the fourth cause of the comparative failure of the transportation system. The convict must regard in the land of his adoption, or his prison-house, as a pretty dealer, rather to be a wholesale dealer, not becoming the owner of valuable property — or, second, or becoming a licensed publican, which calling affords every sort of amassing wealth more easily than can be done by industry. Or, third, by claiming to be clever with a sheep-walk, whereby natural increase, assisted by stealing, or by receiving stolen sheep & cattle, large herds are acquired in a few years. There are instances of convicts rising to wealth and consideration by these calling, as small settlers or mechanics, but they are not numerous in comparison with those who acquire property by more questionable means. The result is that the colony is looked on by criminals at home as their Paradise. p. 98 f.

educated convicts. Another cause of failure has been the transportation of gentlemen, or educated convicts. They have hitherto been employed as clerks in offices, or by lawyers, not

crisis in the history of this failure!

chants and petty dealers. — or as tutors in respectable families, or as editors, or sub-editors of newspapers, raising censures & incumbrances on governors, judges & magistrates, creating that bitter conviction against the free emigrant population. p. 102.

Witness follows. The judge, Advocate, Rd. Atkins, had not a
Convict attorney. single a legal education. Gov. Bligh permitted him, in all difficult cases, to consult Crossley, who had been transported for forgery. Another convict attorney was assigned to one of the colonial Episcopal Chaplains,
convict clerk. who employed him for later for six years. One of these sons is now a convict for life, for cattle stealing. p. 102.

William Angus Hall, a lawyer's clerk, after having
Hall, the convict editor. served notice three times, for embezzlement, was transported for 14 years. He managed to recommend himself from the government office to another by an insinuating address, until he obtained employment from Sir Isaac Isacs, now Sir Isaac Coughlan, as a clerk in the Ecclesiastical Registration Office. When this office was broken up, he became editor of the Sydney Gazette, then owned by the former proprietor's widow, whom he married. In this position, he read lectures three times a week, to the whole colony, on matters of government & legislation, in various circulars, and especially on the very slight difference in character & conduct, that existed between

free emigrants & convicts. p. 108.

He was afterwards tried on a charge of felony, ran away, and the last account of him, in August, 1[illegible], was that he had been flogged as a runaway. p. 113.

Dr. Lang would expect the prosperity of German emigrants, its productions being different from British, there to which agriculturists are accustomed. "The harvestings of [illegible]"

The account of the Palatines by Bishop Burnet, begins as follows.

The house of commons, upon the engagement given the Palatines was so displeasing to the people, that they ordered a committee to examine into that matter. The truth of the story was, that in the year 1709 about fifty Palatines, &c. &c. &c.

[illegible] Prince Lewis's chaplain, that the Queen allowed them a shilling a day, and took care to have them transported to the plantations; they, wished with their good condition, wrote over such an account of it, as occasioned a general disposition among all the poor of that country, to come over in search of better fortune; and some of our merchants, who were concerned in the plantations, and knew the advantage of bringing over great numbers to people those land countries, encouraged them with the promises of lands & settlements there. This being printed & spread through those parts, they came in Holland in great droves; the Dutch habitants there were willingly hoped to have, both in transporting them in Holland, and in transporting them to Eng-

chants and petty dealers. — or as tutors in respectable families, or as editors, or sub-editors of newspapers, bearing occasional incomprehensible on governors, judges & magistrates, making their better conceits against the free original population. p. 102.

Author's editor. The judge, advocate, Rd. Atkins, had not a Gov. Bligh provided him,

Could [illegible] in [illegible] good Attorney, [illegible] was [illegible] could take. [illegible]

William Angus Pell, a lawyer's clerk, after having served twice three times, for embezzlement, was transported for 14 years. He managed to recommend himself from the government office to another by an insinuating address, until he obtained employment from Arch Deacon, now Bishop Broughton, as a clerk in the Ecclesiastical Confirmation Office. When the office was broken up, he became editor of the Sidney Gazette, then owned by the former proprietors widow, whom he married. In this position, he read lectures three times a week, to the whole colony, on matters of government & legislation, in various particulars, and especially on the very slight difference either in character & conduct, that existed between

Pell, the most able editor.

free emigrants or convicts. p. 108.

H. was allowed, tried on a charge of felony, ran away, and the last account of him, in August, 1886, was that he had been flogged as a runaway. p. 115.

Swedish German settlers. Wooden Boy would suggest the propriety of encouraging German emigrants, its productions being different from those to which British agriculturists are accustomed. The practice of settling Protestants from the Continent in the British N. A. Colonies, dates back to 1708. p. 189-90.

Ex. The year 1708, says Beckh Lowel, in his "History of the Commercial and Political Relations," Germans on the Palatinate, who were Lutherans, and were ruined, came over to England; there was a great deal recommended to relatives Prince George's chaplain, that the Queen allowed them a shilling a day, and took care to have them transported to the plantations; they, mixed with the poor sufferers, made over such an account of it, as occasioned a general disposition among all the poor of that country to come over in search of better fortunes; and some of our merchants, who were concerned in the plantations, and knew the advantage of bringing over great numbers to people those lands, encouraged them with the promises of lands to settle upon. Advertisements being printed and spread through those parts, they came to Holland in great bodies: the Anabaptists there were particularly hopeful to have, both in subsisting those in Holland, and in transporting them to Eng

Second letter from Bp. Burnet - to appear at end is included here

land. Great numbers were sent to Ireland, but most of them to the plantations in America, where it is believed their posterity will quickly turn to a good account."

Burnet. VI. 33. 34. - Oxford edition.

Of the illiberal measures of this kind, "one did pass in this session" says Bishop Burnet, under the year 1707, "that was much desired, and had been often attempted, but had been laid aside in so many former former parliaments, that there were scarcely any hopes left to encourage a new attempt: it was for naturalizing all foreign Protestants, upon their taking the oaths to the government, and their receiving the sacrament in any Protestant church. This bill passed with very little opposition." Burnet. V-399.

Education.

The pernicious effects of the system of convict discipline have been aggravated by the injudicious & unwarrantable procedure of Gov. Macquarie in actually forcing emancipated convicts into society, and giving them in situations of authority & which they had no just claim. p. 100.

Other Macquarie system.

Further Correspondence on the subject of Convict Discipline and Transportation. (In Continuation of Papers presented 16th Feb. 12th April, 4th May, 1847, and 2nd May, 1848) Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, February - 1849 - London. 1849. Blue-book.

Female convicts improved by marriage.

Lt. Governor, Sir W. Denison, of Van Diemen's Land writes Earl Grey. "Our [illegible] subject of convict marriages. [illegible] proved [illegible] that the general good conduct of the female convicts after marriage is remarkable. ... No female convict now can marry without first obtaining the permission of the Lieut. Gov. ... It is [illegible] that he should be invested with the power of placing married female convicts in the same civil condition as their husbands. At present a convict wife [illegible] remains subject to the convict law, and can be [illegible] from one district to another. In many instances, free men have emigrated, leaving their wives & families behind." p. 118.

Table in proof of it.

Comparative Statement of the Conduct of the female Convicts who were married in Van Diemen's Land, during the years 1842 & 1843.

No. of Female Convicts married in Van Diemen's Land in 1842 & 1843	Crimes in the Colony. Before marriage.	Crimes in the Colony. After marriage.	Moral Offences in the Colony. Before marriage.	Moral Offences in the Colony. After marriage.	Causes of Displeasure. Before marriage.	Causes of Displeasure. After marriage.	Acts of Gratitude. Before marriage.	Acts of Gratitude. After marriage.
484	29	19	19	16	1463	597	1511	632.

James Thompson, Registrar. p. 165.

[The great question of Europe has been for centuries how to dispose, or get rid of, their victims of poverty & crime. Our system of equal rights is expected to enable us to consume our own smoke.]

"A History of New South Wales, from its Settlement to the Close of the year 1845. By James Dunmore Lang, D.D. St. John's College, Cambridge. Formerly Chaplain to the Presbyterian Congregation, Sydney, Author of Cooksland, and now Principal of Sydney College. In 2 vols. London. 1846. 8vo. p.

Mr. Lang's work, taken on 1833, was managed with great judgment, and may, therefore, be relied on with some confidence. It exhibited the following result:

The convict population of N.S. Wales in 1833.

Free males above 12 yrs. of age.	17.542.		
" " under " " "	5.256	—	22,798 Total free males.
Free females above 12 years of age.	8.522.		
" " under " " " "	4.931	=	13.453 Total free females.
			36.251 Total free persons.
Convict males. 2 —	21.845		
" females.	2.698.	-	24.543 Total Convicts,
			60.794. - Grand Total.

The disproportion between the male & female population & the large number of convicts, in proportion to the free, will appear, & may perhaps, amazed, while of the convicts, a large number held tickets of leave. p.85.

free & convict.

The number of free females, above 12, did not amount to one half of the free males above 12. while among the convicts, the females were not one tenth. p.86.

Many of the free females sent out, intended to be of good character, were [illegible] to the [illegible], of the lowest class. p. 275.

Manner of transportation to America, before 1776.

When Government wished to get rid of convicts, parties were advertised, and willing to contract for their transport, on condition of being allowed to dispose of them among the settlers, who purchased their services from the contractor, to which services, Convicts in U.S. became [illegible] until the [illegible] of transportation expired. to contractors. Even if the criminal was pardoned, he could not avail himself of his pardon until his master was reimbursed. p. 220.

A transported convict to N.S.Wales, would often manage to be assigned to his wife. An instance is given at p. 244, where a woman immediately followed her husband as a free emigrant, Convicts assigned [illegible] £200. The [illegible] of [illegible] family in England, [illegible] to wives, was assigned to his wife, and they have ever since kept one way of the most elegant haberdasher's shops in Sydney, [illegible] in the wife's name. In fact, the man was generally seen riding about, and attending the theatre, and other places of amusement. p. 244.

Vol. II.

Chapter 8th.

Conclusion.

The convict origin of the colony, has, of necessity, produced some influence, though that influence will, of course, be less felt, in every successive year. Making this allowance

we are surprised that the moral condition of N.S.Wales is so good as it is. It is not true, (as our calumniators assert, that crime, unblushingly walks our streets. The second Sydney jail delivery for 1844 numbers only 12 cases. This, in a population of between 40 & 50 thousand, speaks strongly for our freedom, at least from grosser vices. p. 314.

Sydney, 12 cases of jail delivery.

Convicts' conduct

Of the native born population of Australia, we will not speak in disparaging terms. Descended, as many of them have been, from parents whose names were stained by crimes against their country and their God, brought up under a fearfully imperfect mental training, a neglected moral cultivation, and either an entire omission, or, at the best, yet an imperfect performance of the duties and ordinances of religion, they have, notwithstanding these disadvantages, have earned for themselves a good name, have reared families in honour & respectability, and are now themselves in the enjoyment of general esteem & confidence, and their children, availing themselves of blessings placed within their reach, which their fathers knew not, are bearing upon them the buds of excellence.

Their general good character.

Convicts, whose sentences have expired, or who have received pardons, and who are more generally called "emancipists," form no insignificant part of our population. These, (admit that they had a bad character in case, and a good one to gain, have, in many instances, so acquitted themselves around the work of reformation, that now some are reckoned

Emancipists, or ex convicts.

among our most honourable tradesmen and merchants, amongst the most liberal supporters, too, of the various benevolent institutions which adorn our land. pp. 314-315.

Braim proceeds. "Many of them have become wealthy, are the founders & main supporters of many benevolent institutions. p. 315.

On the other hand, there are some evils. p. 316. "We are too much inclined to over estimate wealth. Colonial society has a propensity to gambling, which excels all classes. p. 317.

Gambling.

Illicit intercourse has prevailed, and we fear to a great extent, does prevail throughout the land, but not now as general, with enhancing frontiers in the face of law. But on the whole, Braim thinks that the "wonder is, not that vice exists, but that aught else has any place". "There is nothing in the health of colonial society, calculated to foster and encourage vice." p. 319.

Illicit intercourse.

"We have lately observed with sorrow the prevalence of a disposition among the labouring classes to indulge in factious opposition to constituted authorities, and to become infected with all the evils flowing from radicalism & mob oratory." p. 321. [That is to say, the people have become awakened to a sense of their political rights, and in a rough, impeded way, are groping their way back to them at first, are beginning to discuss and claim them — a most hopeful symptom.]

People awakened to their political rights.

Sidney's "Three Colonies of Australia".

The Three Colonies of Australia: New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia; their History, Topography, Resources and Prospects. By Samuel Sidney. - Numerous Engravings. London. 1852.

The accumulation of criminals in our gaols, at the close of the American War, became an embarrassing question to the country authorities, and to government. Projects for the renewal of transportation... became a subject of discussion. Banishment from a very early period was an ordinary punishment, which permitted the sentenced to proceed to any country he pleased. Thus Shakespeare's Richard the Second.

Criminals accumulated in 1783.

"We banish you our territories,
You Cousin Hereford, upon pain of death,
Till twice five summers have enriched our fields,
Shall not see greet our fair dominions.....
Norfolk, for thee remains a heavier doom...
The hopeless word of never to return,
Breathe I against thee upon pain of life." p.27.-

Banishment common.

R

Banished from France.

It is common even now in Guernsey & Jersey to banish a criminal to England, that is, lend him a passport to England, to go where he will, so he never comes back to the Channel Islands.

The smaller German principalities sometimes pay the

passage of great criminals whom they cannot execute without [illegible] of [illegible] to [illegible] the expense of their maintenance.

From Hamburg to New York.

At Hamburg, a few years ago, the representative of a Northern Dukedom was about to despatch a small batch of murderers, burglars & forgers, by an emigrant ship, to New York, but was prevented by the criminals themselves, who made so great a display of pistols, daggers &c. which led to the discovery of their character. p. 28.

Monmouth prisoners.

The prisoners after Monmouth's Rebellion were bestowed as favorites who sold them to Jamaica, Barbados &c.
To Sir Philip Howard, 200. To Sir Rd. White, - 200.
To Sir William Booth, 100. Mr. Kendal, 100.
Mr. Wyche, 100. Sir William Stapleton, 100. - Sir Christopher Musgrave, 100. - A merchant whose name Lord Shenderland did not know, 100. In all 1000. They were to be kept 10 years before having their liberty. Macaulay's account of the traffic between the Maids of Honor, and the relatives of prisoners, will be remembered as well as Mr. Penn, the broker. p. 29.

Boston merchants sell petty rogues.

When Petty rogues were brought before the merchant magistrates of Boston, they frightened them by threats of hanging, into the consent to be sold to the plantations. p. 30.

After the American war, the accumulated rogues were to be gotten rid of. Kanning had been stretched to its utmost limits, and the Americans had decided to employ

more white slaves.

no slaves, who had not 25 % of black blood in their veins. p. 81.

Col. Macquarie's strong common sense told him that the cheapest way of using his convicts was to make them valuable & respectable. His predecessors thought they should be the slaves of the free emigrants. This was impracticable and Macquarie therefore took the ground that all colonial honors & emoluments should be for the successful & industrious persons who had served out their time, or had deserved pardon.

Macquarie makes a civil & may istrate.

The first selected for honor was Andrew Thompson, a convict & a bricklayer. He had been transported at 15, early showed enterprise, was made free, built coasting vessels, and flourished till wealthy. In 1806, he was granted the privilege of brewing beer, the government selling him the utensils at 50 % on the invoice. This was in consideration of his useful and humane conduct as a sailor lad & pilot at the Hawkesbury floods. When six months after Macquarie arrived, he made Thompson a magistrate and invited him to dine at the Government House. p. 70.

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Bishop Burnet's History of his Own Times. With Notes by the Earls of Dartmouth and Hardwicke, Speaker Onslow, and Dean Swift. To which are added Other Annotations. In 6 Vols. 2nd. Ed. enlarged. Oxford. 1833. – At the University Press.

Second Extract from Bishop Burnet, continued from p. 213 this book.

Upon their coming out, the queen ordered them [illegible]; and great charities were sent to support them: all the service declared against the good reception that was given to them, [illegible] the queen ordered [illegible]. [illegible] at a [illegible], [illegible] the [illegible] relieving [illegible]; [illegible] good reception [illegible] charities went to support strangers, when they needed them so much: the time of our fleet's sailing to the plantations was likewise at a great distance. The Palatines expected to be all kept together in a colony, and became [illegible] [illegible] should be compelled; some of them were both inactive and mutinous; and this weakened the colony [illegible]; [illegible] mixed among them, and came over with them, but they were presently sent back. Great numbers were sent to [illegible]: [illegible] of them to the plantations in America, [illegible] it is [illegible] that [illegible] turn to a good account. The design was now formed, to lord [illegible] administration [illegible] was [illegible]; so it was [illegible], that in all that year there was a design against the church, and to increase the numbers & strength of the dissenters. [illegible] the [illegible] enemies came to a sudden vote, that those who had encouraged and brought over the Palatines were enemies to the nation: and [illegible] a letter, made by the [illegible], in the queen's name, to the council of trade, was laid before them, by which they were ordered to consider

Burnet's Account of the Palatines.

of the best methods of disposing of them, it was moved to lay the [illegible] before a Committee: yet this was put off for that time; and afterwards by several adjournments laid aside, like it did with it.

But while the heat raised by this inquiry was kept up, the commons passed a bill to repeal the act for a generalization of all protestants, which had passed two years before; alleging that it gave encouragement to the Palatines to come over, though none of them had made use of that act in order to their naturalization. This was set up by the lord Guernsey, and some others, entertained them with tragical declamation on the subject: yet, upon the first reading of the bill, it was rejected. Votes, trial was formerly often attempted, for limiting members of the house of Commons to hold places, had the same fate. Vol. 6. pp. 38 9-40.

Vol. I. Same Edition.

Designs for Putting Away the Queen, Catharine of Braganza.

Lord Clarendon's enemies thought they were not safe, as long as the Duke of York had so much credit with the King, and the Queen had a much power over him: so they fell on propositions of a strange nature, to put him from her. The Duke of Buckingham pressed the King, to make a marriage with the Duke of Monmouth's mother, and he undertook to get witnesses to attest it..... The Duke of Lauderdale offered to begin the matter in the Council

Year that Charles II. married Catharine of Braganza.

A Cardinal of Fords. The King would not consent to this yet he put
this [illegible] as [illegible] as [illegible] to
a great wished it might be done. When the Pope saw the could
this. [illegible] the business, the Cardinal [illegible] they
tried not to find methods [illegible] it and [illegible] Queen,
that so the King could [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] Bourgeot the Queen and he was not legally married.
Others pretended that she was barren from a natural cause.
About this time, the Lord Rochford brought proofs of adultery
against his wife, and obtained a sentence of divorce in a
Spiritual court. The bill passed and upon that precedent,
some moved the King that he would order a bill to be
brought in to divorce him from the Queen, but this day
Cranmer. upon the motion was [illegible] the King [illegible] that
divorce the matter must be let alone, so it will not be. At
Cranmer this time, the Court was much [illegible] in mourning
Queen. ing; both King and Queen met in the court and went merry
and use the houses unknown, and [illegible] [illegible] a
Jan 24. great deal of mirth [illegible]. Once the Queen [illegible], not
knowing who she was, went from her: so she was alone, I
was much disturbed, and came to White Hall in a hackney
coach: some say it was in a cart. The Duke of Buck
ingham [illegible] to the [illegible] and [illegible]
Cranmer to [illegible] away and [illegible] [illegible]
Queen's [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
credit to of any more: so it should be given out that she had de-
the Pope. [illegible] but upon that it would [illegible] with some [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] to carry on not [illegible] a [illegible], grounded upon the pro

The King excuses his consent.

lence of a wicked battery. He told Mrs May did me that the King himself reported me with scorn. He said it was a wicked thing to make a poor lady miserable only because she was his wife, & had no children by him, which was no fault of hers. [illegible] this broke out and the Earl of Northumberland, then Lord Chamberlain, told the Queen, it was neither decent, nor safe, for her to go about in such a manner as she had done of late, so she gave it over.

pp. 482-3.

[This was in 1668.]

debtor's prison. Mr. Hotten, who announces the book, has brought out some curious and valuable books, and is following them up in a line peculiar to himself, as the following titles from his list of books in press will show: "History of Sign-Boards from the Earliest Times to the Present Day, with Anecdotes of Famous Taverns and Remarkable Characters," with 100 illustrations; "Puniana, or the Piccadilly Riddle Book," an entirely new collection—illustrated by 100 exquisitely fanciful conceits from the pencil of the editor, Hon. Hugh Rowley; "The Choicest Jests of English Wits, from the Ruder Jokes of the Ancient Jesters to the Refined and Impromptu Witticisms of Theodore Hook and Douglas Jerrold, including the Cream of Joe Miller, comprising the best Sayings, facetious and merry, which have contributed to give to the country the name of Merry England"—edited by W. Moy Thomas, and uniform with the "Choicest Humorous Anecdotes and Short Stories in the English Language," "Choicest Humorous Poetry," and "Choicest Epigrams," each in one volume.

—"Kent's Commentary on International Law Revised, with Notes and Cases brought down to the Present Time," edited by J. T. Abdy, LL.D., is announced for publication by Messrs. Deighton, Bell & Co., of Cambridge. The letters of "Historicus" have drawn general attention to this portion of Chancellor Kent's commentaries. It is recommended by the author, Mr. Harcourt, as the most authoritative work on the subject, and having no equal in any European book.

THE HESSIANS OF THE REVOLUTION.*

THE number of mercenaries furnished by German princelets to the British Government in the War of our Independence was 29,166,† of whom no less than 17,313 returned to their native country. The other 11,853 fell in battle or succumbed to the diseases incident to a soldier's life in a strange and variable climate. The loss by desertion was entirely inappreciable; the "call of duty" bound the German of the eighteenth century with a spell of which the American of the nineteenth can form no conception. An army, kidnapped in part from among the lowest dregs of the population, and pitted against a people with whom they had never had a thought of quarrel, fought with heroic courage, and endured the sufferings of a protracted captivity, without even seriously entertaining the idea of seeking safety and freedom in flight from its oppressors.

The idea that the progeny of these Hessians constitutes any considerable portion of the population of this country is unfounded. Introduced as a mechanical force, they were withdrawn in the same manner, and left no impression behind them. Their fortunes enlist the attention of the student of German rather than of American history, as an episode bringing into full relief the political and social condition of Central Europe to an extent which would otherwise have remained unnoticed, if not unknown. It is because these bondmen depleted the English Exchequer to the amount of £6,096,857 5s. 11¾d.‡ that they provoke enquiry; and it is because of that handsome little item—representing in absolute value more than twice its amount at the present day—only £4,306,743 7s. 3d. flowed into the army-chests, and £1,790,113 15s. 8¾d., or nearly three-tenths, swelled the revenues and, for all practical purposes, the privy purses of the illustrious sovereigns who had impressed them, that the investigation becomes instructive.

Of the entire contingent 16,992 were subjects, native or kidnapped, of the Landgrave of Hesse; the rest were supplied in various proportions by the Duke of Brunswick, the hereditary Prince of Hesse-Hanau, the Margrave of Anspach, the Prince of Waldeck, and the Prince of Anhalt-Zerbst, potentates distinguished from the mob of their peers and colleagues chiefly by their parts in this transaction.

Charles I. of Brunswick (1735–1780) had managed to involve his principality of 150,000 inhabitants, sadly wasted and worn in the Seven Years' War, and incapable of yielding a revenue of more than a million and a half, in a debt of twelve millions of thalers, which his efforts to make gold had not availed to discharge. He paid a salary of thirty thousand thalers to his opera manager, Nicolini, and another of three hundred to his librarian, Lessing, then the foremost light of German literature. He had found it necessary to check his own extravagance by placing his treasury under the custody of his heir-apparent Ferdinand (duke from 1780 to 1806), a man of some ability and with a tendency to avarice. Father and son looked upon the British proposal as a godsend, and signed a treaty in forty-eight hours after the opening of negotiations. The men were promptly stolen and deprived of shoes, stockings, and overcoats, not obtainable on the same

deutscher Fuersten nach Amerika (1775-1783). Von Edward Duncker. 1864. 8vo, pp. 200.

The Hessians of the Revolution.

Executed without law.

ing accuracy, and Jew, chair, and head tumbled in a heap upon the floor. Nor was this rigor by any means exercised upon Jews exclusively. Counts and colonels are known to have been executed, while the reasons for which they suffered were never mentioned. Christopher William von Rauber, accused of having ridiculed the government in print, was sentenced to slap himself on the mouth, to burn his pasquil, and then to be beheaded; the last clause of the sentence was mercifully commuted to life-long imprisonment, but all his property was confiscated. A Hungarian who had shot the margrave's orderly was broken on the wheel. A Prussian soldier's wife, who had induced a private of the margrave's body-guard to desert, was hung, and the Prussian recruiting officer, who had been arrested at the same time, imprisoned. The deserter himself was too valuable a piece of property to be damaged. A citizen of Gunzenhausen, doing duty as sentry, so ill versed in military etiquette as to obey the personal command of the margrave to hand him his musket, was tied to a horse's tail and dragged through a pond, and died a few days after. A gamekeeper, who had the charge of the margravial hounds, was accused by backbiters of neglecting them. The sovereign rode up to his door, called him out of his house, and shot him down.

Gamekeeper—Shot down.

The wife of this great man had insisted on sending her son to study at the republican university of Utrecht. Having completed these studies, he had made the tour of Italy, but returned with a constitution greatly shattered by vicious indulgences, for which his august father immediately wreaked condign vengeance upon his tutor, a privy counsellor of state, and cast him into prison; whether he remained there, or whether he was beheaded, rumors are conflicting. Perhaps in consequence of his semi-republican education he so far departed from the traditions of the family as to admit ladies who were not of noble birth to his court; but it was on condition that they should never utter a word in their mother tongue, a stipulation which the ladies from Paris exacted as due to them. Being at this moment in debt some five millions of thalers, he received the British emissary with open arms, and made all haste to furnish his contingent. The transaction has obtained a place in German classical literature, from at least an allusion to it in Schiller's play of "Kabale und Liebe," "Love and Intrigue." He introduces the margrave's avowed mistress, Lady Milford, whose real name was Lady Craven, as the only person of condition in all the land who is alive to the tyranny of the proceeding. Learning that the diamonds which the prince sends her were bought with the blood-money obtained for these recruits, she rejects them with disdain. "My sons are among them, too," says the lackey who brings them. "Not by compulsion, I hope?" enquires the lady. "O dear, no!" he answers; "all volunteers. Two or three jackanapes stepped out of the ranks and asked the colonel what he took for a yoke of men? But our gracious sovereign had them shot in the presence of all the regiments. Their brains spurted over the paving-stones, and we all shouted, 'Ho for America!' Then the drums beat, and off they went, orphans howling after their hiring fathers, and mothers telling their husbands to run bayonets through their children, and bride and groom hewn asunder with sabres, and aged crones throwing their crutches after their departing sons."

All this is founded on fact. The Anspach troops mutinied while on the way down the river Main in boats, and might have robbed the margrave of all his vested rights in their flesh and blood had he not ridden night and day to overtake them, and overawed them, partly by the grandeur of his presence and partly by means of his double-barrelled rifle, with which he posted himself on one of the boats, and accompanied the transport to the Netherlands. "At the sight of His Serene Highness," says a contemporary newspaper, "the good soldier shed tears of joy, and took up his march in patience." But the hussars of the Bishop of Würzburg were also called in to keep up the effect.

The Dessiant of the Revolution.

Frederic Augustus, the last of the princes of Anhalt-Zerbst (1747-1793), reigned over 20,000 subjects, among whom, ever since 1716, the deaths had exceeded the births. Brother of the Empress Catharine of Russia, he was a caricature not only of monarchs in general, but even of the little monarchs of Germany. His hatred of Frederic the Great, his near neighbor, was such that in 1763 he took a final leave of his dominions, and spent the rest of his life at Basle and Luxembourg. After frequently admonishing his subjects not to violate the sanctity of his retreat with petitions for the redress of grievances, he put up a placard expressly forbidding such impertinences. His life was cut short by the execution of Louis XVI.; on hearing of that calamity, he steadfastly refused all nourishment, and expired in a few weeks. His troops were accepted by the English only at his urgent solicitation. Some of his French letters are even more curious than the English ones of the hereditary Prince of Hesse-Hanau. "Four brothers in Dessau," he writes to an English diplomatist, "had six hundred hounds in common, all quartered upon the citizens. A fine garrison! And at the first crack of the whip they assembled like soldiers at the beat of the drum. Whew! If we could make the Americans scamper like these hounds! But that will require troops?" He even offers the King of England "two frigates and two sloops of war, which will be found indispensable—1, to keep up the communication with the Anhalt troops; 2, to convey reinforcements; and 3, to enlarge the British navy."

There were also negotiations with the rulers of Würtemberg, Bavaria, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Saxe-Hildburghausen, but they came to nothing, either because the troops, after having been promised, were found never to have been in existence, or because the reputation of the particular principality was such as to deter the English; or, in the case of Darmstadt, because the sovereign was so fond of seeing his soldiers on parade that he would not part with them.

Such are some of the features of the gloomy chapter of German history which our author has given to the world in the pages we have been citing. "Humiliating as is the reflection," he says to his German readers, "the story must be written; for the wounds then struck have left their scars upon the present generation. The crime here denounced, so far from being expiated, is repeated even at this day wherever a people are compelled to shed their blood and lavish their treasure in a cause which is not their own. The causes which produced it are still at work; the destruction of Germany into a heap of petty despotisms is as rife as ever. The grandfathers of our present princes sold the corpses of their subjects to the English King for fifty-one thalers and fifteen silver groschen a-piece; their sons, the heroes of the 'Rheinbund,' became kings by the grace of a Corsican attorney's son, and sold him the flower of the country's youth to fight his battles on the Moskwa and the Guadalquivir. The grandsons still occupy the same thrones, and alternately seek the protection of Austrian, French, or Russian bayonets as the bids rise and fall. The miseries of such a system must be renounced at any price."

Corpses sold.

As to Mr. Kapp's work itself, a further introduction is not needed. His "Life of Steuben," "Life of Kalb," and "History of Slavery in the United States," have made his name the all-sufficient passport with all who read for the purpose of increasing the range of their information. Mere amusement is not his aim. Instead of encumbering with valueless anecdotes the records of subjects already over-written, he loves to rescue from oblivion what would else be lost, to cast new light into dark places, to correct traditional opinions by facts newly discovered, or never yet brought into connection with them, and to bring the lessons of the past to bear upon the stern realities of the present. His readers are so much the less numerous, but the influence of his pen on the minds of men is the greater. Every one of his publications might well bear for its motto the remark of Goethe: "The man meant to do more than write a book."

The German Element in the War of American Independence. By [illegible]. [illegible]. 1876.

Mercenary troops.

Till the great wars of modern Europe, till the wars of the French Revolution, had been carried on mostly by mere mere troops, among which the Germans were perhaps pre most for aptitude to arms, endurance, quietly, rapacity, and when paid regularly, for fidelity. p. 173.

Silence dangerous.

To be an officer required a nobility of four descents; the private was a mere machine. Russian recruiters glide about, disguised, hunting men. "Better not be too tall, in any country at present." [Carlyle.] p. 175.

Tall carpenter & his chest.

A pretended Baron Von Compesch at Jülich, ordered a chest to be made by a carpenter, who was 6 ft 4 in. in height. He ordered it to be made long enough for the carpenter to lie down in it, stretched out. The Baron came for the chest, disguised its length, the carpenter proved it by lying down in it, when the Baron slams down the lid, whistles in three men, and carries off the chest through the town. When opened, the carpenter was dead. The Baron was a recruiter. [Carlyle.] p. 177.

How recruit left.

A recruit, on his way to camp, was made to undress to avoid [illegible], [illegible] letter new given to the landlord of the inn, and the officer slept between the recruit & the door. p. 178.

The city of London was opposed to the war, against A-

London a. not bad. America, and it was much disliked elsewhere in England. Here the seed of a civil market. p. 183.

Russia tried. Russia was first tried. Catharine made a polite answer, and Gunning, the Ambassador, jumped to the conclusion of success, and so wrote. But when the subject was renewed more plainly, the Empress turned all thought of selling soldiers. p. 185.

Hanover not subdued. But a country whose nationality was lost in small principalities and duchies, whose resources were diminished to the income and revenue of petty sovereigns, could not be subdued. George III was Elector of Hanover, and could send Hanoverian troops where he pleased. p. 186.

German peasants bought & sold. If the campaign of 1776 was to open with vigor, reinforcements must be had, and in 1775, Sir Joseph Yorke was ordered to see what men could be obtained in Germany, and the King of England, and the petty German sovereigns leagued together to buy and sell the blood of German peasants. p. 192.

Charles Lt, Landgrave of Hesse Cassel set the example, and his successors had followed it. He let out his soldiers to hire. Cut it down to the proportion of Cromwell, bid to 1763, as the best pay quarters. From 1687 when Louis sent Cession 1000 men to fight for the Iroquois, till the end of the 7 yrs. troubling found on both sides.

war, (1778.) Hessians were found in one or the other of the contending armies, and always among the bravest and best disciplined. With the force of their blood, he built towns and churches, the watchworks of civilization, and set up the statue of Freedom. His successor followed in his footsteps, building at no time, signs not under ground, and had thirty companies the highest force. Noble palaces, galleries of paintings and statues, and spacious villas were the result. p. 193.

Menial work done. Boys and old men & women did the work at home. "When we are dead, we are done with it," was a common saying. When a father asked for his son, he was sent to the mines. If the mother died, she was sent to the next house. p. 1[illegible].

Less than. The Landgrave, Fred. the Second, of Hesse-Cassel, ruled a territory of 156 German square miles, and 30000 subjects. His power was absolute.

Wealth. Cotlette [illegible] was he agent for him. Was a man with business talent and good will. He built some schools, but his culture was on the surface. French manners, literature and [illegible] was all it boast. He sit 60,000 soldiers in [illegible] money — 2 letters suppressed, not, but he sold 60. 2 colonies, in soldiers, the master part. To him, the American war was a godsend. p. 19[illegible].

Lotteries & man trade.

Fred. wealthy. As Frederick was wealthy, he made better terms, and the contract rather took the form of a treaty on equal terms,

treaty, not contract. " Jul 8, 11. Jul. 1777. than of a convention for hiring soldiers. The first division mounted to 3,[illegible] the second to 2,117, the last, not men of well-knit sinews like those of the first division, at most [illegible] men of 1,815. In the second division it was not raised a [illegible] as the first. The people were alarmed, but the only refuge was desertion, and deserters passed daily into the neighboring territories. George III used his power as Elector of Hanover to move Lauter to Brunswick, and Hanover placed its [illegible] fund, as [illegible], being prepared in England. The Hanover, says a German historian, was filled with blood & tears. Cut hearts out on all that Hessian transfer, & was only to deserve men, wherever he is found, that Frederick could fulfill his promise. Meantime, he went to Italy to enjoy his money. p. 200.

Cut hearts out. 2000 Brunswickers were made prisoners at Saratoga. The Duke, [illegible] to [illegible], and French witness against his [illegible], at home, urged the French government to defer exchange till the war was ended. p. 208.

Opposed, but

Frederick, Austria and the Emperor passed many men, because they might soon need them, and Frederick imposed the same tax upon their passage, through his territories as upon cattle. p. 208.

Fred. of Prussia. " refused pass age.

He refused passage to Anspachers & Hagmanners, and in

desertion. marching through Holland and the Netherlands, 334 deserted.
Thus "Frederick" was an involuntary ally. "Would Parlia-
in Parliament. ment approve this "speculation"? The debates were long & bitter." In the Commons, Burke pronounced the bargain,
Burke. a "shameful" [illegible]. [illegible] compared
called shame-ful. it to the sale of cattle for the shambles, but the ministry
prevailed by large majorities. In England, [illegible] the
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] that the
commoner [illegible], and the commoner, a
Feudalism. day laborer, assented to the position. p. 207.

Total No. of men furnished	29,156.	
No. returned	17,313.	
Loss	11,843	p. 210.

The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America, &c. By William Gordon, D.D. 4 vols. London, 1788.

Vol. II.

Col. Putnam, (Gen. Putnam) served with the Connecticut
Gen. Put-nam. troops under Gen. Amherst. His courage, conduct and reputation are mentioned. Of late, he has occupied a tavern
" with a farm annexed to it. Such a junction is frequent
leather apron. in New England... The Lexington news was brought him, while working in a leathern frock & apron, at a stone

wall, p. 2.

Massa. officers. Several of the Massachusetts officers are miserable tools. It is owing to their having been elected by their privates. pp. 27-8.

N.E. freedom, no discipline. The freedom to which New Englanders have always been accustomed makes them impatient of control, and renders it extremely difficult to establish discipline. p. 66.

Indented servants free. Lord Dunmore, Gov. of Va. in October, 1775, declared all indented servants, negroes, or others, appertaining to rebels, free, who were able & willing to bear arms upon joining his Majesty's troops. This measure lost the government many friends. p. 111.

Southern pej. against N.E. The southern colonies, in consequence of accounts transmitted to them from the camp, began to entertain prejudices against the Massachusetts troops ... Gen. Thomas declared that the privates in the troops at Roxbury were equal to any with whom he served in the last war. [1756 1763.] and many of them were men. The central part of the army was composed of good, and dependable men. Strangers to subordination, they were not prepared to the service; it was they were chosen by their privates. He complained the southern riflemen, that they often boarded the camp, were mutinous, disliked duty, and were so

Southern soldiers bad.

vicious, that the army would be well without them, but [illegible] spoke with indignation of their speed ... Some of the Massachusetts officers practised the meanest arts of peculation. p. [illegible].

Animosity between N.E. & the South.

A Brigadier writes, animosity in the American army has already risen to such a height that the Penna. and N.E. troops would as soon fight each other as the enemy ..... Whole colonies are villified & cheated, knaves, cowards, poltroons, hypocrites, for no other reason but because they are situated east of New York. Every honor is paid to the merit of good men from the South, the merit, if such be possible, from the North, is not acknowledged. p. 80.

Officers election.

[illegible] Sept. [illegible] 1776. "I [illegible] number of bad officers in the continental service, when you consider that many were chosen by their own men, who elected them, not from a regard to merit, or any [illegible] military line, but from the popularity [illegible] of their being [illegible], to accounts [illegible] but [illegible]. It was the case in divers instances, that, when a company was forming, the men would choose those for officers [illegible] the [illegible] from [illegible], captains, lieutenants, ensigns, sergeants, corporals, with drummers & privates, drew equal shares. Can it then be wondered at, however mortifying it may prove, that a captain should be tried & broken

Thacher's Military Journal.—

Officer seen shaving his men.

for stealing his soldiers blankets, or that [illegible] and having in me to be [illegible] distinct character! Time must and will clear the army of these despicable commission [illegible]. J. 334.

[Gen. Reed, in one of his letters, I think to his wife, but which I cannot now find, dwells much on this shaving incident, using many contemptuous epithets in regard to New England.]

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A Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War, from 1775 to 1783; &c. By James Thacher, M.D. 2nd Ed. revised & corrected. Boston. 1827.—

Under date of Jan. 26. 1777, is the following entry.

Lie in one water.

"We were at this, in winter quarters at Ticonderoga. A singular kind of riot took place in our barracks last evening, attended by some unpleasant consequences. Colonel J. W. of Massachusetts, made choice of two tory sons, who were soldiers in his regiment, to discharge the menial duties of waiters, and one of them having lately brought up a fine pacer, the Colonel was so inconsiderate as to allow him to work on his bench in the same room with himself. This ridiculous conduct has for some time drawn on the good old man the contempt & [illegible] of the gentlemen officers, especially those from Pennsylvania. [illegible]

Lieut. Colonel's regiment, being armed with wine, took on himself the task of [illegible] the "Tories" [illegible] beyond his rank. With this view he rushed into the room in the morning and soon [illegible] the [illegible] table, after which, in order to put a stop to the Colonel's wrath, bruised him severely. The noise and confusion soon collected a number of officers and soldiers, and it was a considerable time before the [illegible] could be quelled. Some of the soldiers of Lieut. Colonel's regiment actually took a [illegible] arms and [illegible] to Sandwich, but [illegible] extremity of firing their guns. About 30 or 40 rounds were aimed at the soldiers of our regiment, who were driven from their huts and barracks, and several of them were slightly wounded. Colonel C. in making an assault on a superior officer, and encouraging a riot, is guilty of one of the highest crimes in our military code. But it is the part of Colonel W. and in fact, it was his duty, to bring the audacious offenders to exemplary punishment; but, as to complete the disgrace of the transaction, Lt. Col. C. sent some soldiers with the [illegible] that [illegible] with such a meal as [illegible] and actually invited Col. W. and his officers to partake of it; this effected a reconciliation; Col. W. was induced to overlook the high handed assault on his own person and on the lives of his soldiers. Our Colonel is a serious, good man, but is more conversant with the [illegible] than the [illegible] used in camp.

a. F.

[This Col. W. was Asa Whitcomb. Gordon (II p. 147.)

Lieut. Colonel attempts to beat the Colonel,

Lieut. Colonel is wounded by order of Col.

Was Phil cont.

calls him "Deacon Whitcomb of Lancaster", and says he had served in former wars and seen in various engagements. He had been left out of the army, when Congress remodelled it, after the Battle of Bunker Hill, on account of his age. But so great was his popularity, that the men of his neighborhood refused to enlist unless he was restored. He reproved them, defended the Government, and offered to enlist as a private himself. Washington, knowing of this, procured his re-appointment as Colonel by special effort. [illegible] quality [illegible] in a [illegible] practical matter. His Southern comrades, did not understand this then any more than their descendants have done since.] [Ms. note, written in the winter of 1857.]

account of him.

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Men & Times of the Revolution, or Memoirs of Elkanah Watson, including Journals & Travels, 1777 - 1842. - 2nd. Ed. [illegible], 1861.

Bill

captain.

hail of water.

[illegible] passing through the Camp, [at Cambridge,] in 1775. I overheard a dialogue between a captain of the militia and one of his privates. "Bill", said the captain, "go and bring a pail of water for the mess". "Sand", [illegible] the lubber, "Dick, it is your turn now, captain, I got the last." The elements of subordination [illegible] very [illegible]. Officers "mon

had rushed to the field under the ardent impulses of common patriotism, and the selections of the former, by the troops, or their appointments, which first occurred, were rather accidental than controlled by regard to superior position, or acquirement. To a great extent, they had occupied, at home, a social equality. Distinctions of rank, and military discipline & etiquette were yet to be established. p. 27.

German blood in the veins, in the people, a custom most loose and equivocal in an inhabitant of New England. p. 37.

German father, Welsh mother, Quaker, Episcopalian, Presbyterian.

Memoirs of His Own Time, With Reminiscences of the Men & Events of the Revolution. By Alexander Graydon. Edited by John Stockton Littell. Phila. 1846.

Graydon's father was an Englishman; emigrated from Tamworth in 1730 — a man of good education & designed in the pulpit. His mother was born in Barbadoes. Her daughter was German, and came to Penn. at the age of 17. [Sample of many families of mixed race in Penna.] p. 18.

In 1773, Graydon went to live at York. The practicing Attorney there was an Englishman, of middle age, the son of whose Clerk was [illegible] to have [illegible] in a cause, which had [illegible]

[illegible] had. He [illegible] and [illegible] and he [illegible] [illegible] it. He had been under [illegible], rising from that post to the bar, and was now in good practice. He had good common sense, and integrity, and he lately died in affluent circumstances. He also found at York, an Episcopal Clergyman, an occasional sojourner at York, his pastoral duties often taking him to Maryland.

Lewis' Opera. "I was one day humming a tune from the Beggar's Opera. The parson began to hum the tune, pointing over the book, [illegible] other airs as he went along. [illegible] as a gentleman [illegible] the place only he required at the Theatre. 'I am,' said he, 'to give you a sermon next Sunday,' and pulling it from his pocket said, 'It was preached at such a time & such a place, and at another time elsewhere,' giving me to understand that it was not his own composition, and that he made no difficulty in preaching my sermons he said not written. In short, Mr. L. was what was then called in Pennsylvania, a 'Maryland parson.'" p. 108.

Maryland parson.

Mr. James Smith, was also a lawyer at York in considerable practice. He was between 40 & 50, fond of his little and young company, and possessed of an animal spirits & drollery. Judge Hedman, [illegible] and a man of energy, though [illegible] and [illegible], was his butt. Smith drank.

Smith, the liquor

He drank.

was a native of Ireland, and emigrated to this country with his father ~~and~~ between 1715 and 1720. He was one of the signers of the Declaration. p. 104.

Irish Germans anxious for Independence.

The German farmers however of Pennsylvania were unwilling to submit to Independence. The Presbyterian Irish, on the contrary, were almost to a man for it. For the Irish, it was enough for them to know that England was to be injured, and their humiliation superintended. p. 105.

Graydon, as captain, had little success in recruiting. At Franckford, a number of fellows intended a kind of as a recruiting artist, but though they drank his liquor, did not sit off. G. perceived that their object was to amuse themselves at his expence, and he soundly flogged one of them for insolence. He proceeds, "This incident would be little worthy of relating, did it not serve in some degree to correct the error of those who seem to conceive the year 1776 to have been a season of almost universal patriotic enthusiasm. It was far from prevalent in my opinion, among the lower ranks of the people, at least in Pennsylvania. If all Germans, indeed, I confess, had been loyal, it would have been much to the present taste, and were aristocratic, of course popular with us; but the true merits of the case, at least, were little understood or regarded. The opposition to the claims of Britain originated with the better sort: it was truly aristocratic in its commencement; and as the oppression to be apprehended, had not been felt, no ground

existed for general enthusiasm." pp. 134-5.

Gen. Dearborn. At Lake George, he [illegible] for the
A. V. E. Collins. Eastern Frontier, but from the [illegible] that yet
[illegible] came on. The appearance of the materials of which
the Eastern Battalions were composed, were of
[illegible] the some of which I had [illegible] in
[illegible] assembled at Lake George. He beside
Gen. Schuyler as a [illegible] officer, and a [illegible] for
[illegible] there. He was [illegible] at Lake George, but
[illegible] attempt. Yet he should have been disposed of the Yankees
I am not at all surprised: he certainly was at
a loss to [illegible] the system adopted to fill up
a set of officers, who were both a disgrace to their
stations and the cause in which they acted.
Graydon then describes an incident at dinner.
Beside Gen. Schuyler, his family and cousins, there
were at table, a lady & gentleman from Montreal.
A. V. E. Collins. A V. E. Collins came in on business with that at
incident, not possessed of manners which belong to persons of
the meanest rank. He was neither asked to sit,
nor [illegible] a glass of wine, and after announcing his
wants was dismissed as a low and vexatious intruder.
A. V. E. Collins. Graydon thinks that this man in his proper sphere
might have been entitled to better treatment, but as
he had thrust himself into a situation for which he
was not fit, and upon an occasion which involved the
most important of human interests, Graydon is scarcely

prepared to say that his treatment was unmerited. p. 141.

At New York, I speak particularly of the officers, who were only distinguishable from their men, by the color of their cockades. [illegible] a blanket [illegible] might raise them above their privates, and command respect and obedience, the object was to humble, to preserve the seeming of equality. "What!" says a Hessian, [illegible] "I carry home your saddle-cloth!" "Yes," said he, "and I do it to set a good example to the officers."

Hessian carries it on saddle.

[illegible] in the army before [illegible] to make [illegible] a snug economical mess, and add to the revenue of the family chest. [illegible] the social principle of the greater part of the army. p. 146.

Graydon admits that Col. Glover's regiment from Marblehead was an exception to these "mercenary constituted corps, the Continental cockades," and that the [illegible] exception [illegible] in [illegible] belonged to their station. But even in this regiment, there were a number of negroes, who, [illegible] accustomed to such associations, had a disagreeable, degrading effect. p. 147.

Marblehead regiment, exception.

negroes in it.

Almost a sufficient answer to the foregoing is that the N.E. troops were the first on the ground, having driven the enemy

No troops from N.E.

& few from N.Y.

[illegible] good, [illegible] had come to [illegible] the [illegible] of their neighbors and were almost alone in the [illegible]. Graydon records, "[illegible] were [illegible] troops here, [illegible] from Pa., & [illegible] scarcely [illegible] them, and those from New York appeared not to be very numerous. [illegible], however, afforded officers, who might be [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible]. p. 147.

Gen. Putnam

Col. Putnam

Gen. Washington.

The Colonel Putnam mentioned above, "was our principal engineer", and was then employed in the construction of Fort Washington. Gen. Washington said of him, "a man of no other merit, I think, than that of being a good engineer, for the conducting of that business. None of the French gentlemen appear to me to know anything of the matter". p. 149.

[Col. Rufus Putnam was a nephew of Gen. Putnam.]

Great little impression on N.E.

Notwithstanding the unwarlike guise of the N.E. troops, there was no fort in the continent, besides, in which so little impression could be made, or in which the enemy were so cautious of advancing. He admits that they, "scarcely met on their own ground." I fear, in vain, endeavored to account for the very few gentlemen, and men of the world that at this time appeared in arms from this country, which might be considered at the early of the revolution.... "Here was a young man of broad bearing &c, &c, the real cause... Was it, that the cause was not popular among the

economy? Was it that area of poverty and condition in N.E. .... were willing to devolve the fighting business on the humbler classes? ..... Whatever was the reason, New England was far behind the other provinces in the display of an ardent, unequivocal zeal for the cause in the quality of her officers, and indisputably that she has since shown herself more prolific of liberal, well-informed, enlightened men, than any other part of the Union, was evident at the time from fighting of, and establishment of the colonies. p. 158.

Why were her soldiers were conscripted in the colonies,

The Tables and the Statistics, illustrated from the Census of the Slave States, by Cary Chase and A. Simkins, Boston, 1857.

Table compiled from the Report of the Secretary of War, in 1790. pp. [illegible] showing the number of the Continental Army.

Free States.	No. of Continental Troops.	No. of Militia.	Total Continental Troops & Militia.	Congressional Estimate of Militia
New Hampshire	12,496	2,093	14,589	3,700
Massachusetts.	67,937	15,155	83,092	9,500
Rhode Island	5,908	4,284	10,192	1500
Connecticut.	32,039	7,792	39,831	3000
New York.	7,781	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pennsylvania	25,608	7,357	32,965	2000
New Jersey	10,727	6,055	16,782	2,500
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Slave States.	No. of Continental Troops.	No. of Militia.	Total Continental Troops & Militia.	Congressional Estimate of Militia
Delaware	2,387	376	2,763	1000
Maryland	13,912	5464	19,376	4000
Virginia	26,672	4,163	30,835	21,880.
N. Carolina	7,263	2,716	9,979	12,000
S. Carolina	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
Georgia	2,679		2,679	7,930
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

pp. 152 3.

"The North & the South" J. H. Chase, U.S.A.

New England States

	No. of Continental troops	No. of Militia.	Total Continental troops & Militia.	Conjectural Estimate of militia
New Hampshire.	12,496	2093	14,589	3700
Massachusetts.	67,937	15155	83,092	9500
Rhode Island	5,908	4284	10,192	1500
Connecticut	32,039	9792	37,831	3000
Total New England.	118,380	29,324	147,704	17,700

Middle States

New York	17,~~784~~	3312	21,093	8750
Pennsylvania	25,608	7357	32,965	2000
New Jersey	10,727	6055	16,782	2500
Total.	54,116	16,724	70,840	13,250
Cities of New England over militia	64,264	12,600	76,864	4,450
Total Slave States.	58,421	12,717	71,140	76,810

Bancroft, Vol. 4. - pp. 127 8, estimates the population of the Colonies in 1754. as follows.

New Hampshire	50,000	
Massachusetts	207,000	
Rhode Island	35,000	
Connecticut	133,000 =	425,000 Total Pop. of New England.
New York	85,000	
New Jersey	73,000	
Penna. & Del.	195,000	
Maryland.	104,000 =	450,000 Total Pop. of Middle Colonies.

Virginia	168,000		
N. Carolina	70,000		
S. Carolina	10,000		
Georgia	5000	283,000	Total Pop. of Southern Colonies.
		450,000	" " " Middle "
		425,000	" " " New England "
		1,158,000	United Colonies.

The accuracy of the above army table has been disputed. Some of the short term New England troops, it is said, though without proof, were counted as long term men. It is not, however, disputed that they greatly outnumbered the troops from any other section, & were a valuable auxiliary. The difference between New England, and the other colonies was this. The colonies south of New England, especially in the Middle States, were in 1776 inhabited by a mixed race, not yet assimilated, and their attention towards homogeneity was constantly obstructed by slavery, & by the importation of servants, & various infidelities, many of whom were bought. These circumstances also, as was far less, injuriously affected education. Instead of a rational thoroughly and uniform system in regard to it, and in many localities, if any school existed, it was generally gotten up by persons of similar blood, and often taught by a fugitive or, not unfrequently by a convict.

Difference between N.E. & other colonies.

Slavery & Schools.

New England, on the contrary, was the only section, which in 1776, possessed a homogeneous population.

N.E. The had had but little increase by immigration since 1640, and those who read the earlier volumes of these notes will see that up to that date, she had, possessed few indentured servants as compared with those of the colonies south, and that these few, thence forward, constantly decreased until they

few servants.

[illegible] nature [illegible] population was, that they raised their own laborers. The rich and the poor, - though few were very rich, or very poor, - were generally related to each other by blood, [illegible] tion [illegible] were the same in basis, all went together to the public schools, taught by native teachers, [illegible] and the highest & lowest classes were, in fact, but figures upon the same fabric. The people therefore at the Revolution were substantially of one mind. The Adamses & Hancocks were but little in advance of the mass, as all were ready for the event. Hence, in Massachusetts, the [illegible] at Lexington, Concord, Bunker Hill, and [illegible] they had [illegible] from their own soil, they were ready to assist their neighbors, and it seems, were the first on the ground at New York. It was by flocking to the standard [illegible], the most [illegible], that [illegible] to take the army of Burgoyne, and break the back of the war. Their service under their own [illegible],

Greene and Lincoln, in the South, afterwards, were only five [illegible] the Union.

Had the redemptioners and other raw immigrants of which the white laboring classes were made up, all the way from New York to Virginia, turned out in as large numbers as the eastern troops, it is quite possible that they would have made a not more soldier-like appearance, than the latter, "contemptable in the extreme", as Graydon announces them to have been.

This homogeneity of race in New England, & the consequent necessity of raising its own laborers, still continued to be its distinctive feature up to 1820. It was but the other day, [illegible] that [illegible] in New England, a Mr. Eustis, [illegible], born in Kentucky, was, in 1820, told on that he could [illegible], then he was quite a boy, that but four families in that then enterprising town of 4000 inhabitants [illegible] [illegible], so much was all family [illegible] done by [illegible]. In some sections too, where [illegible] ceased to act, families were then large, and most likely the homesteads in the one mentioned, [illegible] consisted of some of the [illegible] daughters of neighboring farmers, who took the [illegible], [illegible] made on [illegible] under the name of "[illegible]". [illegible] in the "[illegible] of Nature", but quitting this subject as is the custom, on speaking of the New England Colonies, that a widow, with a large family of boys and girls, was, in colonial times, considered a fortune in marriage, because the children of both

Lepoe, could, during their minority, be let out to hire at a profit.

"PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH."

HISTORY, HABITS, AND CHARACTER

SOME NOTICE OF THE EARLY SETTLEMENTS MADE BY GERMANS IN PENN'S COLONY, TOGETHER WITH A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE INFLUENCE EXERCISED BY THESE SETTLERS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS UPON THE COMMONWEALTH, AND A GLANCE AT THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE SO-CALLED "DUTCH" COUNTIES.

A recent article in a prominent New York paper contained certain gross misrepresentations in regard to the German element of Pennsylvania. It is a duty which we owe to our State to correct such egregious blunders—or, perhaps, such wilful prevarication—and we shall perform this duty by reviewing, as briefly as possible, the history of our German settlers and by showing their present condition.

The origin of the German population in Pennsylvania dates back to the latter part of the seventeenth century. As early as 1683 Fra Daniel Pastorious, of whom the poet Whittier has sung so sweetly, with a colony of Germans, settled and laid out Germantown, near to the metropolis. These came from Cresheim, Germany, and were principally Quakers. Other colonies followed, settling in different parts of the Province. It was not, however, until the years 1709 and 1710 that the emigration of the Germans was of any magnitude. For two or three years previous Queen Anne, of England, gave refuge to thousands of the Palatines, who, oppressed by the exactions of the French, were forced to flee from their homes. It is stated that in the month of July, 1709, there arrived at London 6,520 German Protestants. Transportation was gratuitously given many to America through the aid of the Queen and the government of England. The vast majority were sent to New York, from whence many reached the confines of Pennsylvania, a Province the laws of which were more tolerant than those of any of the new Colonies. Among these German emigrants were Mennonites, Dunkards, German Reformed, and Lutherans. Their number was so great during the subsequent years that James Logan, Secretary to the Proprietary, wrote: "We have of late great number of Palatines poured in upon us without any recommendation or notice, which gives the country some uneasiness, for foreigners do not so well among us as our own English people." Two years after, Jonathan Dickinson remarks: "We are daily expecting ships from London, which bring over Palatines in number about six or seven thousand. We had a parcel who came out about five years ago, who purchased land about sixty miles from Philadelphia, and prove quiet and industrious. Some few came from Ireland lately, and more are expected thence. This is besides our common supply from Wales and England. Our friends do increase mightily, and a great people there is in the wilderness which is fast becoming a fruitful field."

These emigrants settled principally in Montgomery, Berks, and Lancaster counties. They were well educated, and brought with them their ministers and schoolmasters; the latter very frequently, when there was a want of supply of the former, read sermons and prayers. Between the years 1720 and 1725 a large number of Germans who had settled previously in Schoharie county, New York, descended the Susquehanna river on rafts to the mouth of the Swatara, ascending which stream, already settled by the Scotch-Irish, they took up their abode near the waters of the Tulpehocken, Berks county. The celebrated Conrad Weiser, to whom we shall refer on a future occasion, was of this party of colonists. From 1725, for a period of ten years, there was another great influx of Germans of various religious opinions, Reformed, Lutherans, Roman Catholics, Moravians, and Swenkfelders. By a letter of James Logan in 1725 it appears that many of these settlers were not over scrupulous in their compliance with the regulations of the Land Office. He says, and perhaps with much truth, "They come in, in crowds and as bold, indigent strangers from Germany, where many of them have been soldiers. All these go on the best vacant tracts, and seize upon them as places of common spoil." He says "they rarely approach me on their arrival to propose to purchase," and adds, "when they are sought out and challenged for their rights of occupancy, they allege it was published in Europe that we wanted and solicited for colonists, and had a superabundance of land, and, therefore, they had come without the means to pay." In fact, those who thus "squatted" without titles acquired enough by their thrift in a few years to buy the land which they had thus occupied, and so generall they were left unmolested. Secretary Logan further states: "Many of them are Papists—the men well armed; and as a body a warlike, morose race." In 1727 he states that "6,000 Germans more are expected (and also many from Ireland), and these emigrations" he "hopes may be prevented in the future by act of Parliament, else these Colonies will in time be lost to the Crown."

From 1735 to 1752 emigrants came in by thousands. In the autumn of 1749 not less than twenty vessels with German passengers to the number of twelve thousand arrived at Philadelphia. In 1750, '51, and '52 the number was not much less. Among those who emigrated during these years were many who bitterly lamented having forsaken their native land for the Province of Pennsylvania. At that time there was a class of Germans who had resided some time in Pennsylvania, well known by the name of Neulander, who made it their business to go to Germany and prevail on their countrymen to sacrifice their property and embark for America. In many instances persons in easy circumstances at home, with a view to better their condition, came to America, but to their sorrow found that their situation was rendered none the better, but in numerous

instances so much worse as to be absolutely wretched. Others again who had not the means of paying their passage across the Atlantic were on their arrival at Philadelphia exposed at public auction to serve for a series of years to pay their passage. Those thus disposed of were termed Redemptioners. The Palatine Redemptioners were usually sold at ten pounds for from three to five years' servitude. In almost every instance the time for which they were sold was honestly served out, while many subsequently, by dint of industry and frugality, rose to positions of wealth and importance in the State. The late Hon. John Covode prided himself on being a descendant of a Redemptioner.

In later times, say from 1753 to 1756, the Germans having become numerous and therefore powerful as "make-weights" in the political balance, were much noticed in the publications of the day, and were at that period in general very hearty co-operation with the Quakers, then in rule in the Assembly. From that time onward, although not so numerous, very many of the German emigrants settled in Pennsylvania. The assumption that any appreciable portion of the present German population of the Commonwealth are the descendants of the Hessians who were brought here by the British government to put down the rebellion of 1776 is as impudent as it is false. All of the "German mercenaries," as they are called, who were prisoners of war, and stationed in Pennsylvania, according to Baron Reidesel, were properly accounted for and were returned to their own country upon the evacuation of New York by the British. They did not remain, as it was a condition entered into by the English government with the Landgrave of Brunswick, the Duke of Hesse-Cassel, and the petty Princes of Hanau and Waldeck, that a certain price was to be paid for every man killed, wounded, or missing. Before the official proclamation of peace the Hessian prisoners were on their way to New York by direction of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. Some few may have come back to America after their return to Germany, but the bold assertion that the origin of the large German population in our State is due to the settlement of those hired mercenaries of England cannot be supported.

That the Germans in Pennsylvania have been so uniformly successful in acquiring wealth is due to their industry, to their thrift, and to their ability in agricultural pursuits. If some portions of Pennsylvania are the garden-spots of America, they have been made so by the Germans who have tilled them—who have indeed "made the wilderness to blossom as the rose." Not anywhere, in the New England States, in New York, nor in the South are farms so well tilled, so highly cultivated as in the sections of Pennsylvania where the descendants of the Germans predominate, and we assert, without fear of contradiction, that more works on agriculture, more papers devoted to farming, are taken and read by the farmers of Pennsylvania than by the farmers of any other section of the Union. That our German citizens are not "content to live in huts" is tolerably certain, and whoever will go into the homes of the farmers will find evidences of both refinement and culture, and although their barns are large and capacious, because their dwellings are not castles, they should not be accused of indifference to their own domiciles. At the present time it is rare to find a farm-house in the old German settlements that does not contain a double parlor, sitting-room, dining-room, kitchen, and out-kitchen, with six or eight bedrooms. This is more general in the counties of Berks, Lancaster, Dauphin, and Cumberland than among the New England-settled counties of the North and West—the Scotch-Irish settlements—or the Quaker counties of Chester and Bucks.

Of the Pennsylvania German language or idiom we will not speak, except to state that at the present time there are few persons speaking this patois who are unable to also speak and read English. Those who are not conversant with English are of recent importation from the Fatherland. Because the Dunkards and other religious bodies retain the peculiar views of their ancestors, they are accused of being unprogressive—of preserving the customs and general characteristics of the race—which is far from the truth. Next to the Scotch-Irish, no race has left such a high and lofty impress upon this nation as has the German. There is less ignorance in the German counties of Pennsylvania than will be found in any agricultural region, East, West, North, and South. Because some old, plodding farmer, who prefers remaining on his farm, attending to his cattle and grain, cares little of going beyond the county-town in his visits, his inaction ought not be imputed to either his ignorance or to his being close-fisted. In the German counties one rarely meets with an individual who has never been "to town," and we venture an opinion that both in the New England States and in New York are there many persons who have never visited the county-seat. German opposition to common schools has been a terrible bugaboo to very many outside of Pennsylvania who never understood the occasion of it. Foremost among the opponents of the free-school system were the Quakers, the opposition arising from the fact that having had schools established for many years, supported by their contributions, they were opposed to being taxed for the maintenance of others.

Precisely similar were the objections in the German districts, but that was forty years ago, and to the credit and honor of the German element in Pennsylvania, Gov. George Wolf, the father of the free-school system, and Gov. Joseph Ritner, the earnest advocate of the same, were both of German descent. The opposition died away a quarter of a century ago, and a glance at the school statistics of Pennsylvania would open the eyes of our Yankee friends. The present system and management of public education in our State is second to none in the Union, and figures and facts will bear us out in this connection.

Of the domestic manners and customs of the Pennsylvania Germans we shall have little to say, but the charge that "bundling" survives to the present day among them is simply absurd. Despite all that may be said in regard to this custom, it was a rare circumstance seventy-five years ago, and all knowledge of it was obtained from the staid New England people and the *Dutch* of New York. According to the Rev. Samuel Peters, who published a "History of Connecticut" nearly a hundred years ago, that custom "had prevailed in New England for one hundred and sixty years," while most of the New England genealogies and histories refer to it as occurring therein. To fasten its origin or prevalence upon the Pennsylvania "Dutch" is a violation of fact. If it was a rare occurrence seventy-five years ago, propriety and good manners has obliterated the evil borrowed from the East.

Sectarian strife is not as frequent among the Germans as among the Irish and Welsh, and to accuse them of "Hiberniphobia" would be tantamount to charging the English and other foreigners who settled in Pennsylvania with "Germaniphobia." They are not exclusive, by any means, and the frequent marriages of their daughters to the town lads repels this insinuation. Look on the German element in Pennsylvania—so frequently and inappropriately called *Dutch*—and there will be found industry, honesty, energy, progress, enterprise, wealth, intelligence—in short, all those characteristics which go to make up educated and useful citizens, a population of which any State in the Union might well be proud.

Elsewhere will be found, under the caption "Pennsylvania Dutch," a communication from Mr. John F. Young, of this city, which is happily supplementary to an article recently published in The Press in relation to the same subject. The list of German settlers in the early days of the Commonwealth will possess a very general interest independently of the specific purpose for which it is furnished us for publication by Mr. Young, and we commend it to the attention of genealogists and antiquarians generally.

"PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH."

GERMAN PATRIOTS OF THE PAST.

THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO THE "FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA" TAKEN A HUNDRED YEARS AGO BY CERTAIN OF THE THEN GERMAN CITIZENS OF THE COMMONWEALTH, WITH THE NAMES OF THE SUBSCRIBERS THERETO.

Mr. John F. Young, of this city, writes to us: "In your issue of February 12 I noticed the complaints of a correspondent who feels somewhat indignant at the comments of certain New York journals upon the origin of the 'Pennsylvania Dutch'—the comments in question being substantially the assertion that the Germans of the interior of our State are descended mainly from Hessian soldiers who settled in this country after the Revolutionary war. I have in my possession evidence of record relative to a large number of the citizens referred to which completely oversets this assertion. Before my ancestor, Judge Henry Shaeffer, a justice of the peace, very many of the residents of Lancaster, Lebanon, and Dauphin counties took the oath of allegiance to the United States during the years 1776, '77, '78, and '79. I have the oath as drawn up by Judge Shaeffer, and as signed by those who gave in their allegiance to the new Government; and the signatures of these men at this time are sufficient evidence that they were old-established citizens of the Colony before they became citizens of the Republic. I append the oath and names of the signers, both copied from the original book of entry:"

I, ———, do swear (or affirm) that I renounce and refuse all allegiance to George the Third, King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors; and that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as a free and independent State, and that I will not at any time do or cause to be done any matter or thing that will be prejudicial or injurious to the freedom and independence thereof, as declared by Congress; and also, that I will discover and make known to some one justice of the peace of the said State all treasons or traitorous conspiracies which I now know, or hereafter shall know to be formed against this or any of the United States of America.

Abraham Stump,
Christian Wolf,
Georg Trauttman,
John Moor,
Henry Mayer,
John Schwitzer,
Heinrich Hess,
Henry Kopenhofer,
Vallentin Dinger,
Georg Reichmann,
Johannes Lausser,
Jacob Edger,
David Baker,
Georg Staudt,
John Noll,
Philipp Noll,
Jacob Gamberling,
Jacob Rith,
Martin Albright,
Christian [illegible],
He[illegible]ich [illegible],
Ja[illegible] Mess,
Ni[illegible]laus [illegible],
Abraha[illegible] Neff,
Philipp [illegible]henkel,
John K[illegible]el,
Valentin Meyer,
Johan's Dundelberger,
Georg Hildebrandt,
Georg Hetzler,
Friedrich Dabler,
Henry Pessor, Sr.,
Heinrich Meily,
Christopher Mayer,
Christian Phillipe,
Peter Wollfersterger,
Michael Naas,
Friedr. Wollfersterger,
Jacob Himmelsberger,
Peter Grün,
Christian Kastnitz,
Johann Schiffer,
David Leoenston,
Heinrich Fester,
Christian Frantz,
Michael Capp,
Michael Neff,
Michael Mess,
Caspar Ila,
Martin Hafelfinger,
Frederick Razz,
John Bayer,
Heinrich Meiser,
Georg Stublersteidler,
Georg Neff,
Johannes Bollmann,
Michael Tey,
Philip Wolferslinger,
Heinrich Beckli,
John Read,
Jacob Spengler,
Andrew Appel,
Georg Read,
Jacob Kielh,
Nicolas Kilk.
Jahannes Schwarz,
Peter Kring,
Jacob Bender,
Peter Kapp,
V. Metzger,
Thomas Luis,
Martin Keller,
Christian Kisser,
Jacob Bright,
John Schmidt,
Jorg Wicier,
Anthony Willsay,
Thomas Clark,
Gottfried Eichelbaum,
Johann Knole,
Michael Brecht,
Ulrich Risser,
Georg Spram,
Frederick Stump,
John Flemming,
William McCullough,
Hannes Meyer,
Ludwig Long,
John Rest,
Ab[illegible]ham [illegible]chwanger,
Peter Grubb,
Johannes Riegel,
Adam Riegel,
Philip Adam Riegel,
Johann Phillips,
[illegible]
Alex. Heissing[illegible]
Johannes Mei[illegible]
Georg Meiser,
Joseph Monger,
Heinrich Schmidt
Georg Gehret,
Georg Schreiber,
Michael Winter,
Nicolaus Miller,
Hans Schopp,
—— Conradt,
Johan. Laudermilch,
Michael Stump,
Christoph [illegible]eiller,
Johann G[illegible]
Koohen [illegible]
David B[illegible]
Geor[illegible] V
Friedrich [illegible],
Henry Good,
Johannes Schon,
Georg We[illegible]dinmann,
Joseph Jun[illegible]er,
Matthias Ertz,
Robert L[illegible]ig,
Johannes [illegible]ecker,
Berg Weinmann,
Michael L[illegible]dich,
Michael Haff,
Johannes Becker,
Samuel Milward,
Emanuel Seiss,
Nicolaus Shroff,
Marks Nagel,
Frantz Ulrich,
Christian Umarvick,
Christian Fox,
Freidrich Mahler,
Jacob Shiner,
Simon Newman,
Jacob Miller,
Adam Bollmann,
Jabez Weiser,
Jacob Hartmann,
Jacob Totter,
Johann Gorglein,
Andreas Kapp,
Ludwig Schneider,
Jacob Wentz,
Baltzer Laber,
Jost Hoffmann,
Michael Trautman,
Jacob Wagener,
Heinrich Spring,
Johannes Roth,
Conrad Spielman,
Henry Berkey,
Casper Tieman,
Mathias Albright,
John Rabb,
Peter Newman,
Jacob Newman,
Georg Betz,
Georg Folck,
John Wolff,
Carl Schenckel,
Adam She,
J. Binnerdorffer,
Martin Rausch,
David Dichong,
Nicolaus Ensminger,
H. Nickelschmidt,
Martin Getz,
Frederick Stever,
Peter Rirth,
Andrew Shawly,
Jacob Hahn,
Andrew Carnly,
Petter Bornhard,
Johann Huster,
Lechert Bichler,
John Bricht,
Christoph Gold,
Martin Nennide,
Jacob Ramler,
Michael Ramler,
Heinrich Mayor,
Martin Balldor[illegible],

Georg Hoffmann,
Adam Hoffmann,
Johann Keder,
Georg Gleer,
Wilhelm Seibert,
Mathias Grün,
Adam Frieth,
Heinrich Brill,
Christian Lohmann,
Johannes Laudermilch,
Franz Seibert,
Jacob Schack,
Martin Weily,
Georg Schack,
Henry Schwan,
Michael Mahl,
Valentin Vehrmann,
Ludwig Wiedemintz,
Heinrich Brummer,
Heinrich Herchelroth,
[illegible]raft Kolb,
[illegible]am Freed,
Jacob Louser,
Georg Roll,
Georg ———,
Philipp Himmelberger,
Christian Schell,
Hannes Lohn,
Martin Walborn,
Jacob Baltzer,
Friedrich Necker,
Heinrich Baltzgeber,
Georg Himmelberger,
Jacob Mayer,
Bartel Vicker,
Casper Shwegberk,
Johannes Theis,
Reinhardt Dinger,
Moritz Iyrbelt,
Friedrich [illegible]isenmenger,
[illegible]orge M[illegible]ner,
[illegible]olaus [illegible]me,
[illegible]Gemler[illegible]ng,
[illegible]Vester[illegible],
[illegible] Noll,
[illegible]de Schonk,
[illegible]lhet,
J[illegible]nes Noll,
[illegible]el Schonk,
[illegible]erg Diesinger,

Adam Boraff,
Simon Miller,
Johannes Hindlau,
Michael Wernrich,
Pinderod Scholl,
Leonhardt Brum,
Jacob Becker,
Leonhardt Struhler,
Abraham Most,
Michael Müller,
Henry Wunderlich,
Jacob Laudermilch,
Heinrich Sartor,
Philipp Brauer,
Michel Neff,
Johannes Sauder,
Henrich Munch,
Johann Adam,
—— Schnarm,
Georg Ege,
William Old, Jr.,
Robert Coleman,
Michel Mohr,
John Neiss,
Hannes Schmit,
Gerhard Wies,
Jacob Lebe,
Michael Kuntz,
Geo. Grundmann,
Christian Shenkel,
Jacob Neff,
Jacob Sander,
Jacob Six,
Jacob Phillippi,
William Moon,
William Peisseh,
T[illegible]mas McGinness,
Thomas Edwards,
Johann[illegible] Zollinger,
Elias Theisz,
John Neet,
Christian Diel,
Johannes Busch,
Johann Georg Neff,
Jacob Blum,
Philip Erlach,
Georg Mose,
Philip Gerbener,
[illegible]eorg Holstein,
Drory U[illegible]h,

Johannes Liecher,
Johannestag Steinman,
Jacob Schwanger,
—— Christopf,
—— Scheister,
Michael Kirk,
Joseph Voltz,
Paul Schwanger,
Franzisch Hennicht,
Her[illegible]y Weber,
Pe[illegible]ebo,
Ma[illegible] Fam,
Wi[illegible] Hurdel,
Jo[illegible]msy,
Ba[illegible]brach,
—[illegible]nen,
Jo[illegible]keissen,
Hei[illegible] Leinenweber,
George Grauelich,
Velte Eg[illegible]lf,
David Heller,
Heinrich Heller,
Christopher Stumb,
Henry Bahler,
Jacob Hitzmille[illegible]
Alexander Sch[illegible]
Andrew Strickl[illegible]
[illegible]er, Zeller
[illegible]l Zol[illegible]r,
[illegible]d Dougherty,
[illegible]ube
[illegible]Jo[illegible]s,
[illegible] Stoben,
[illegible] Geiger,
[illegible]n Jones,
[illegible]ris Weidman[illegible],
[illegible] Blinge[illegible],
[illegible]colas Enzwinger,
[illegible]artin Hagg,
[illegible]ohann Haggel,

Marten Rau,
Adam Scholl,
Georg Bolst,
Robert Elder,
Peter Ziegener,
Christian Seibert,
John Meier,
Adam Oberlin,
Andre Wey,
Jacob Hagg,
Daniel Hollenger,
Daniel Hollenger, Jr.
Conrad Hess,
J. Dinnesderfer,
David Schmick,
George Hildebrand,
Philip Beck,
John Cranmer,
George Hamer,
Peter Schwanger,
Johannes Jeder,
Martin Holman,
Ludwig Errsminger,
Michael Dixon,
C. Armstrong,
Hannes Fron[illegible]z,
Peter Burgn[illegible],
George Kau[illegible]e,
Heinrich Wille,
Hannes Phillippi,
George Nagel,
Johannes Hu[illegible]er,
J[illegible]b Dinges,
[illegible] McMullen,
[illegible]nelm Becker,
Johann Gottf'd Jung
[illegible]enjamin Muller,
[illegible]orge Lieber,
[illegible]ichael Spengler.

Phila. Press. April 25th, 1876.

FIRST SERVICES IN AMERICA.

Methodism was brought to America by a party of Irish emigrants in 1760. They were descendants of those German Protestants who, when driven from the Palatinate by Louis XIV., settled in Limerick County, Ireland. For six years after their arrival in New-York they made no efforts to propagate their doctrines, but in 1760 Barbara Heck urged upon Philip Embury, who had been licensed as a local preacher in Ireland, the duty and necessity of establishing Methodist worship and discipline for the benefit of their associates and for the conversion of sinners. Embury accordingly began to preach in his own house, his first audience consisting of four persons besides Mrs. Heck. He formed a class which met weekly, hired a room to accommodate his increased congregation, and preached in the alms-house and other places. In the Spring of 1767 the little society was reënforced by Capt. Thomas Webb, of the British Army, who had been converted under Wesley's preaching in Bristol, England, and had been licensed by him as a local preacher. A rigging loft in Williamst. was hired, and Embury and Webb preached there thrice a week to large and curious crowds, Webb preaching in his uniform, with his sword lying on the desk in front of him. By Mrs. Heck's advice a site for a chapel was secured on John-st., and a stone building, 60 by 42 feet put up. Embury was one of the chief workmen upon it, and heard the satisfaction of making the pulpit with his own hands and preaching the dedication sermon in it, Oct. 30, 1768. He was the first M[illegible] Church in America. A more modern building, now occupies its site, and the "Old John Street Church" is held sacred as the "cradle of American Methodism."

N. Y. Tribune. April 29. 1876.

From the new Domesday Book, as the government report upon the acreage and owners in Great Britain is popularly called, the following important and interesting results have been obtained: The number of owners of one acre and upwards in England and Wales, exclusive of the metropolis, is 269,547, and there are 703,289 owners below one acre, making a total of 972,836. The total acreage of England and Wales, exclusive of the metropolis, and exclusive of commons or waste lands, appears by the return to be 33,013,510. The total acreage of Scotland is stated in this official return to be 18,946,694. The aggregate holding of the hundred largest owners is 3,917,641. In England one person in every twenty of the population is a landowner, and one in every twenty-five in Scotland. One householder in every four in England is a landowner, and one in every three in Scotland. In England and Wales (omitting London) 3,874 owners hold 9,367,133 acres; 10,207 owners hold 22,013,208 acres; 42,524 owners hold 28,840,550 acres; 930,312 remaining owners, viz.: those of one acre and under one hundred acres, hold the remainder of the area, 4,172,960. In Scotland 24 owners hold 4,931,883 acres; 68 owners hold 7,957,494 acres; 320 owners hold 13,169,030 acres; 580 owners hold 14,898,936 acres; 1,168 owners hold 16,734,469 acres; 1,759 owners hold 17,576,550 acres; 130,471 owners hold the remainder, viz.: 1,[illegible]1,144 acres. The return for Ireland has not yet been published.

N. Y. Tribune, A/ March 3d 1876.

SCRIBNER.

The principal article of literary interest in this number is an essay on Poe, Irving, and Hawthorne, by George Parsons Lathrop. In the commencement of his paper, the writer remarks upon the fact that all the most brilliant figures in our history thus far have been men of English stock. Irving, Cooper, Poe, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Emerson, Lowell, Holmes (to say nothing of Dana, Bryant, Pierpont, Bancroft, Prescott, and Ticknor), are all "British seedlings on fresh soil." Washington Irving, however, it must be remembered, was Scotch in the paternal line, and Cooper was of Swedish descent on his mother's side. The writer claims for the original texture of Hawthorne's genius an advance on the other two writers, but this texture might never have been worked into literature with its present power and subtlety had the circumstances been different. Mr. Lathrop's paper is far from being exhaustive in its character, and is left, indeed, in an imperfect state, but it possesses an unusual interest from its bright intuitions of Hawthorne's peculiar nature, and its acute analysis of the early influences which contributed to give shape and color to its development. Mr. Clarence Cook's paper on "Household Furniture" is occupied in part with a reply to his critics who

N. Y. Tribune, Nov. 15. 1875.

Cardinal Manning in a recent sermon referred to English pauperism in the following pointed language: "England, the richest of all countries, has upon it a stain and a shame not to be found in countries which Englishmen assume to despise, he meant pauperism, an intense demoralized state of poverty. Poverty in itself was an honorable state; but pauperism was something altogether distinct from poverty. Pauperism was that wrecked condition of men and of families out of which there was no rising by any effort of their own. And what did it come from? It would take too long to endeavor to say. One reason he would state; the overwhelmning prosperity of the rich, the closeness of the hands and the hearts, and the ignorance in which the rich lived and died of the state of the poor who lived and died round about their dwellings. The possession of wealth and prosperity generated a selfishness and an unconsciousness of the sufferings of others, so that men were wrapped up in their own daily indulgence, and were forgetful of those who were in want."

THE GREEN AND THE RED.

IRISHMEN IN THE REVOLUTION.

Press 3-18-76

Phila. Press, March 18 1876

LECTURE BY REV. F. E. BOYLE AT THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC—THE MEN WHO FOUGHT IN THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE—CELTIC BLOOD AGAINST THE RED-COATS—OLD WRONGS AVENGED ON NEW GROUND—THE FRIENDLY SONS OF ST. PATRICK—THE COMPOSITION OF THE FIRST CITY TROOP.

At the Academy of Music last evening Rev. F. E. Boyle, of Washington, delivered a lecture on "Irishmen in the American Revolution," in aid of the House of the Good Shepherd, before a large and evidently interested audience. Among the prominent personages who accompanied the speaker upon the stage were Archbishop Wood, Bishop O'Hara, of Scranton, and Rev. Fathers James E. Mulholland, A. J. McConomy, Fathers Wright, of Media, F. P. O'Neil, and T. Barry. The music was furnished by the Cecilian Cornet Band. The lecturer began by saying: There are two sides to the Irish character. The first is modest, timid, actually bashful. The second bold, daring, and almost impudent. Each side asserts itself in its own particular way, and controls every individual through whose veins courses the Celtic blood. I think I have exhibited the impudent side in presuming to appear before you this evening. In the noble transactions of one hundred years ago was exhibited by Irishmen all the fiery zeal, persistent endeavor, and heroic daring which has always characterized the race, and in these grand achievements the Irishmen of Pennsylvania stand prominently forward in the great struggle for liberty. The fact that Philadelphia was the capital of the confederated States made a necessity for immediate and special effort on the part of those dwelling in this and adjoining Provinces, and all that Irish blood, talent, or treasure could give in the cause of justice was gladly rendered up for the success of the American Revolution. But before recalling the names and deeds of our honored countrymen, let us first glance at their numerical strength at the time. From the beginning of the year 1728 to 1729 there came to this country 5,655 Irishmen as against 243 English and Welsh immigrants, and from that time on the proportion of incoming Celts to other nationalities was about ten to one. They were getting together material with which to punish the red-coats for wrongs which in their own country they could not avenge. These were the true settlers of Pennsylvania, and the names they gave to towns and streams may still be found on the maps. Most of these men, however, were Presbyterians from the North of Ireland, the Catholic Irishmen going mostly to Maryland. But whether Catholics or Protestants, they all brought with them a large supply of dissatisfaction with British rule and English injustice, which contributed not a little to the final dismemberment of the British Provinces in America. In the grand revolution which followed the Declaration of Independence, Catholics and Presbyterians, Quakers and Episcopalians were all united into one band, and from this union of hearts and hands came the strength which finally overthrew the giant of tyranny. A most active part was taken by the members of the order known as the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, an association formed entirely of Irishmen or the descendants of Irishmen, and founded as early as 1771. Among its members may be found such men as John Dickinson, Robert Morris, Gen. Wayne, Commodore Barry, John Knox, and Gen. Washington. As Washington was neither an Irishman nor a descendant of one, and as the society were very anxious to have him among their number, they got over what seemed a serious difficulty by adopting him. Some of these members, like Barry, met the enemy on the sea, where England claimed to be the mistress. Others, like Wayne, beat back the foe at the point of the bayonet on the land, while others, like Morris, contributed all their earthly riches for the support of those who went forth to suffer and perhaps die for their country. When the First City Troop was organized more than twenty of its members were Irishmen or the sons of Irishmen. At the battle of Princeton the conduct of this company of cavalry was so heroic that Washington complimented them by saying that although most of the members were wealthy; they had shown a noble example of bravery, united to perfect discipline and subordination. I am not surprised that these men were self-sacrificing and daring, for bravery comes only to those who feed on brave thoughts. There must be a certain pabulum to the mind to create the grand, unfearing character of the brave man,

and this mental food must proceed from love of honor, devotion to justice, and hatred of tyranny. Why should the Irishmen not be brave when they were fighting against men from whose thraldom they had but just escaped. But turn to a later period for still nobler examples of self-sacrifice. In 1780, when the American army was in danger of being compelled to yield through famine, an enemy they feared much more than the red-coats, a number of citizens of Philadelphia came to the rescue of the nation in its hour of trial, and established the Bank of Pennsylvania, a deed which perhaps as much as anything else gave us the liberty we now enjoy. There were ninety-three individuals and firms of this city who pledged their property and credit to the extent of £300,000 sterling, and of this number were twenty-seven sons of St. Patrick who alone pledged £105,500 sterling. That is a roll of honor. All were Irishmen or descendants of Irishmen, and many of them gave almost all they possessed to sustain the country in her battle for existence. Things are different now. Then they gave, now they take; but, thank Providence, no Irishman has been caught taking anything. Among the many Irishmen who were most prominent during the War for Independence I will mention Stephen Moylan, who was with Mad Anthony Wayne, another Irishman, at Stony Point, and whose daring deeds have become matters of history. His body is now entombed in St. Mary's churchyard, on South Fourth street. Another was John Maxwell Nesbitt, who was born in Ireland, and joining the First City Troop embarked his all in the cause of liberty. He not only subscribed 5,000 pounds towards the Pennsylvania Bank, but before that, while the army was almost starving at Trenton, he paid for all the beef and pork which could be procured. Then, there were three brothers named Nuse from the county Tyrone. John Nuse helped Washington to cross the Delaware by keeping the fires burning on the American side, in order to deceive the British into thinking the army was quietly sleeping at a safe distance. John Nuse was the last one to put aside the Colonial head covering, and may be called the last of the cocked-hats. Col. John Nixon, an Irishman, was the first one to read the Declaration of Independence to the American people. He read that immortal document on the 12th of July, 1776, from a window of the State House to the crowds assembled in Independence Square, while the bell which, twenty-three years before, had inscribed on it the prophetic words, "Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land and to all the inhabitants thereof," was tolling in unison to the heart-throbs of the listeners. There should be mentioned Thomas Fitzsimmons, the counsellor of Franklin and Washington and Morris; George Meade, the grandfather of General Meade; General John Shay, Samuel Caldwell, and, finally, John Dunlap, the first man who printed the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration was first copied, from the original by Jefferson, by Charles Thompson. It seems to me that Irishmen get mixed up in everything. Major General Anthony Wayne, the hero of the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, and Stony Point, which he carried at the point of the bayonet, was born of Irish parents. It is said that, when a person falls from a great height, all the prominent events of his past life are vividly pictured before his mind, and I think that, when Mad. Anthony Wayne with his Irish soldiers stormed Stony Point, all the terrible scenes of blood and cruelty of which they had ever heard or read suddenly came up before their vision, and, almost crazed by the horrible retrospection, they threw themselves against the for and let daylight strike through the red coats. General Walter Stewart, of Londonderry, was colonel of infantry at 21, and General John Sullivan got into the fight before any one else. He captured Forts William and Mary on December 17, 1774, and took possession of supplies, which afterwards came very handy at Bunker Hill. This, remember, was four months before the battle of Lexington, and was the first act of direct hostility towards the British. John Stark, who said, "We win to-day, or to-night Mollie Stark is a widow," was an Irishman, and the heroes of the Boston Tea-party were almost all Irishmen. The first fight on the water was between a British schooner and an American sloop commanded by Jeremiah O'Brien. The first American commodore, John Barry, was born in Ireland. The speaker concluded by enumerating a number of Irishmen who took part in the convention which framed the Declaration of Independence, and also enumerating the signers who were Irishmen. The lecture was listened to with close attention, and the speaker was frequently interrupted with enthusiastic applause.

The History of Oroonoko, a full royal Slave, by the celebrated Mrs. Behn. From the 1st Ed. of her Works, pub. 1719. Lond.

I was myself an eye witness to much here set down, the rest received from the hero himself. p. 2.

Captive sold as slaves. Oroonoko was a Coromantien. The nation was warlike, all they took in battle who could not ransom themselves, they sold as slaves. p. 83.

Oroonoko was the grandson of the King of Coromantien. At 15, his general was killed by whose side he was fighting, and Oroonoko was made general in his place. Mrs. Behn calls Prince Oroonoko the gallant Moor. When he became general, and the war was over, he came to court. Mrs. Behn describes him as highly accomplished. His accomplishments were partly due to a Frenchman of wit and learning, who had been banished for heterodoxy in religion, and who took pleasure in teaching the Prince, "morals, language and science." Oroonoko also saw all the English gentlemen that traded in the coast, learnt their language, and that of the Spaniards, with whom he traded for slaves. "He had heard of our king and the unspeakable glories of our great monarch, and discoursed upon it with abhorrence. p. 86.

Moor. taught language & science by a French man. a slave-trader Charles II.

Described as our heroine, Oroonoko was, like the Shoulders, 6 feet in too, with the daughter of the dead old general. She was the "beautiful black Venus to our

young Mars." Mrs. B. had seen a hundred white men
Imoinda. at her feet, sighing after her, all in vain. He
presents Imoinda with those slaves that had been
taken in this last battle. Having presented 150
slaves in fetters, he showed her that he was not
insensible to her charms, and she understood the si
lent language of new born love. p. 87.

The old king, O's grandfather, over 100 years of age,
Imoinda also fell in love with Imoinda. O had two wives,
a third wife and Onahal, a old one, was but 15 years old, like one
her. of the young wives, was made use of, being first ingratia-
ted to supplant the grandfather. Aboan, O's right
" hand man, or "lord captain," was ordered by O. to se-
Supplanted duce Onahal, that her life might be in his power, &
by O. that she would thus become entirely subservient. This
succeeded, "and as it is the greatest crime in nature amongst
them to touch a woman after having been possessed by a
Sold to a son, father, or brother, the old king now looked on
slave ship. Imoinda, as a polluted thing, and resolved to be sold off
" to another country, no matter where, as a slave. This
was done, [p. 116.] but secretly [illegible] O. was
O. believes her made to believe she was dead, and in his distress,
dead. went again to the wars. On his return in triumph
" he found an English ship in port, its captain was an
old acquaintance of Oroonoko, who would often traffic
O. kid with him for slaves. This captain induced O. and
napped, many of his companions to go on board to an entertain
and

ment. He sot them drunk and then sailed for Surinam,
taken to Surinam. where he sold them as slaves. It was then an English
colony. Oroonoko was sold, says Mrs. Behn, to an over
seer, for Mr. Trefry, a Cornish gentleman of wit and
learning. Trefry, struck with the richness of his vest,
with vest. neatness of his look, &c. and finding he was a great
" man, [illegible] with consideration, and had not put
treated like him to menial work, but charged him with merely
a prince. nominal duties. Oroonoko, however, voluntarily
" laid aside his fine clothes, because they made others gaze
Work nominal on him too much, and put on ozenbrigs. Trefry changed
Ozenbrigs. his name to Cæsar. p. 138

[The Dutch shortly after took the country.]

When Oroonoko at last, at his own request, went to
Slaves see and attend to the business assigned him, the women
sold by all came forth to behold him, and found he was that
O. was prince, who had at several times sold most of them to
ship him. these parts, and from a veneration they pay to great
men, fell before him, crying out, "Long live O. King,
suffer. kissing his feet." They then dressed a supper, and one
their Grandees offered, they said, a great supper. [illegible]
All in love at supper, Trefry told Cæsar that most of his young slaves
with a fine were undone in love with a fine she slave, whom he had
slave. had dead [illegible] months. He [illegible]
Trefry, in was in love with her himself, and all the women beauties in
self interest. had seen never charmed him so absolutely, but she denied
& tries him. him and all of them. Oroonoko asked him, "Why, be-

[illegible] ...ing your [illegible], you do not [illegible] her to yield? [illegible] admitted that he was tempted to do so, but was disarmed by her modesty & weeping. p. 143.

She was Imoinda.

Oroonoko desired to see this great beauty; & found she was Imoinda. She fell swooning into his arms, by degrees came to herself, and it is needless to tell with what transports &c. Oroonoko left them to themselves, and went to the plantation house to tell Mrs. Behn about the matter. From that day, Caesar

Marries her.

took Clemene for his wife, to the joy of the people, &

[illegible] slaves for liberty.

there was as much of magnificence at the wedding, as the country could afford. In a short time, Clemene's condition made Caesar even adore her, knowing he was the last of his great race. This made him [illegible] for liberty, and he offered either gold, or a vast quantity of slaves for it. He was persuaded to wait till the Lord Governor should come. Oroonoko and Clemene [illegible] [illegible] from [illegible]. They [illegible] with [illegible] entertained them

C. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Christian faith.

with the lives of the Romans and [illegible] teaching her all the pretty works I was mistress of, telling her stories of nuns, and trying to bring her to the knowledge of the true God. But this, Caesar liked worst of all, and would never be reconciled to our notions of the Trinity, nor could be made to understand what faith was! p. 147.

White slaves or 4 years. " Cuvatu slaves to raise. " his speech " his plan. " & attacked. " followers dead. " found & unfitted kills himself & wife.

His impatience for liberty was now beyond control, & his wife did nothing but sigh & weep for her child, herself and her unborn infant. One Sunday, when all the whites were drunk, as there were "abundance of several trades, and slaves for 4 years, that exhibited among the negro houses," he went on insurrection. He put himself at its head & about 300 negroes, "made an harangue to them of the miseries and ignominies of slavery, counting up all their toils and sufferings under drudgeries, such as were fitter for beasts than men ... We are bought and sold like apes or monkies, to be the sport of women, fools and cowards, and the support of rogues & runagades, that have abandoned their own countries for rapine, murders, theft and villanies. Do you not hear how they upbraid each other with infamy of life, and shall we yield obedience to such a degenerate race?" &c. &c. p. 175.

He then proposed to travel towards the sea, plant a new colony, defend it, and when the coast was safe, sign it, and make its own terms, or else turn back to their own country. p. 176.

The Governor, Byam, called out the militia, most of the negroes deserted Cromako, he was finally taken, and shipped in a most deplorable situation manner, and then placed again on the plantation. He soon afterwards obtained an interview with his wife, whom at her request he killed, and then killed himself. The planters cut his ears into quarters, and sent them to several of the chief

plantations. p. 200.

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Oroonoko, or the Royal Slave, A Tragedy, by Thomas Southern. No title page to this copy, but first brought out in 1696.

Female adventurers.

Charlotte Fellidon & Lucia are sisters; the former in man's clothes, and have come to Surinam after spending the most of their fortune and reputation in London, to begin life anew. Lucia says "You have persuaded me to leave dear England and dearer London,... to follow you a husband hunting into America, where I thought husbands grew."

Charlotte. Why so they do, as thick as oranges ripening, one under the other. ... Tis but a little patience, spreading your apron in expectation, and one of 'em will fall into your lap at last. ... Pray what have you left in London, that was very dear to you, that I had not left you before?

Lucia. Speak for yourself, sister.

Charlotte. The young fellows ... without whom London is a wilderness ... had forsaken us a great while.

Lucia. Forsaken us?

C. Forsaken us the worst way child. - neglected us, no longer designed upon us, never treat us. Women in London are like the rich silks, they are out of fashion a great while before they wear out.

Rich silks.

[For these reasons and others,] Charlotte tells Lucia, "I persuaded you to bring your person for a venture to the Indies".

In ~~Scene~~ Act II. Scene 2nd. an Insurrection of the Indians is announced. The Governor cries out, "There is no danger of the white slaves, they'll not stir. Blandford & Blanmore, come you along with me; Some of you stay here to look after the black slaves. Those who remain doze [illegible] ho."

White slaves.

Imoinda is introduced in the second act, with the Lt. Governor making love to her. She has been described in the play as a white woman, the daughter of the Frenchman, who was Oroonoko's friend, in the novel, where she is described as a black woman and the daughter of Oroonoko's general.

Governor & Imoinda.

Aboan, the countryman and companion of Oroonoko, tries to persuade him to head an insurrection, and says "The very Indians teach us: we need but to attempt our liberty and we carry it.

"We have hands sufficient,
Double the number of our masters' force.
"We want but you,
To head our enterprise."

O. depends slavery.

Oro. "What would you do?"
Abo. Cut our oppressors' throats.

[Oroonoko refuses to join, and says he will not buy his [illegible] at the [illegible] price of black ingratitude.
By [illegible] the [illegible],]

5. from Oroonoko, a Tragedy.

Ha. [illegible]!

[illegible]. These men are so, whom you would rise against.
If we are slaves, they did not make us slaves;
But bought us in an honest way of trade:
As we have done before 'em, bought & sold
Many a wretch and never thought it wrong.

Further on in the play, Oroonoko, under the influence of his wife, becomes impatient for liberty. He has been encouraged to hope that on the arrival of the Governor, he will receive his freedom. But this expectation is deferred, he is afraid that his child will be born a slave, and [illegible] kills him.

"Kill, kill me now,
While I am blest and happy in your love.

Hawkes and Moan, adds. "I know you are persuaded to believe,
The governor's arrival will prevent
Those mischiefs [illegible] I rather fear
[illegible] his coming. He's young,
Luxurious, passionate and amorous.

O. therefore plans an insurrection, and as in the novel, proposes to march down to the sea, and seize a ship, in which he is defeated, and in the end kills himself and his wife.

Imoinda. Oroonoko's account of his wife and her father is as follows:

[illegible]. O. There was a stranger in my father's court, ...

He was a Mide;
He changed his God for ours, and so grew great,
... And so famed in arms,
He still commanded all my fathers wars.
I was bred under him. ...
The armies joined, he before me stepped,
Receiving in his breast a poisoned dart,
And died within my arms. ...
[illegible] to bought
An infant to Angola. ..

[On O's return home from battle, he says, that he went to condole with her,]

And presented her
With all the spoils of battle to atone
Her fathers ghost. But when I saw her face,
And heard her speak, I offered up myself,
To be the sacrifice. She loved a blackamoor
I wondered and adored.

Moodor prejudice. [Why Southern changes the heroine - black in the novel, to white [illegible] in the play is not my affair. There is nothing in either to indicate prejudice against color. Possibly he thought it safe to follow the already established precedent of Otway and Dryden. In the novel, Oroonoko, once at least, is called a Moor.

Clarkson. Clarkson says, History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, p. 18, [illegible] p. 16, [illegible] brought forward the wonderful tragedy of Oroonoko, by means of which many became enlightened on the subject of the

slave trade and interested in it." It is clear that they found nothing either in the novel or play, to excite sentiments of opposition against the slave trade. Oroonoko himself was a slave trader, and considered himself honestly bought. The sentiments inculcated were not that men should be free, but against making negroes, when it was a question, slaves. That the lower, or laboring class of people should be kept always slaves was a matter of course in the public mind.

Terra Mariae; or Annals of Maryland Colony. By Edward C. Neill. Phila. 1867.

Cecilius Calvert, writes to his brother from Chiswick, Jan. 10th, 1633-4. "I have,... sent a hopeful colony into Maryland... My two brothers are gone with 20 other gentlemen, of good fashion, and 300 laboring men." Stafford Papers Letters Vol. 11.

300 laborers sent to Md.

Neill adds that the laboring men were largely Roman Catholics, or else Irish, as he cannot say, that of 12, that died on the passage, only 1 was Catholic. p. 60.

Neill.

1650. But, in forty, Indians.

The Assembly of 1650 had a Protestant Majority; and Neill gives a list of them. p. 97.

Windebank, Secy of the Privy Council in England, sized Indians.

to Baltimore, and Catholic in his sympathies. p. 90.

[illegible] Lord [illegible] Conway [illegible] Conwaysville, in Maryland in 1671. p. 164.

Jonathan Boucher, for eloquent writing and extensive erudition, was the equal of any in the colonies. He was at one time the tutor of John Parke Custis, the stepson and adopted son of Washington. p. 183.

Boucher.

tutor.

His discourses on Absalom & Ahitophel were supposed to be aimed at Washington and Franklin. While he admired the former, he disliked the latter. p. 184.

disliked

Franklin.

Opposed to slavery. p. 185.

One is astonished to find, in turning over Bacon's Laws of Maryland, not a single provision for schools during the first half of the 18th century. The first mentioned is King William's Free School, for the propagation of the Gospel, and the education of youth in good letters and manners, at Annapolis in 1696. p. 187.

is schools

is 18th

King

Somerset, then embracing Worcester, received a large Scotch-Irish population, under the auspices of Col. William Stevens. About the year 1750, it made by Dublin, under, it stood for months. The first [illegible] was James Fleming. p. 194.

Bennett, 1300 slaves. Slaves rapidly increased. Bennett owned 1300 slaves, 400 more than Col. Carter of Virginia. p. 201.

Douglas' Historical Summary of the British Settlements.

Douglas.

ments in N. America", London. 1747.

Manuscript Letter quoted, dated Jan. 12th, 1774, to Dr. Thomas Mecke, resident in Prince Geo.

After speaking of goods shipped, he says, "The servants in all [illegible] are [illegible] bedding.

Servants.

Some proper Maryland, the reason whereof is, that Virginia is a little odious to the people here. There were aboard the American Merchant, 35 women, 30 boys, and 28 men. The names of some of the men & boys follow. p. 202.

well clothed.

About 1690, James Pancoast, a watchmaker's apprentice in London, was kidnapped and sold to a gentleman in London. He acquired a landed estate, which is near Washington, and died unmarried. In 1730, his brothers, William & Joseph, early settlers of New Jersey, brought suit for the property. Later hundreds of paupers and convicts were sent out and eagerly bought. In 1737, a newspaper, under the caption "An Arrant Cheat detected at Annapolis," states that a vessel had brought there 66 convicts, signed by the Mayor of Dublin and 22 wigs, of such a make, that it was evident they were intended for no other use than to give a respectable appearance to the convicts. p. 203.

Pancoast kidnapped and sold.

66 convicts & 22 wigs.

At one period, marriages between free born English white women and negro slaves were so common, that the Assembly enacted that the wives should be slaves, while the husbands lived, and that the children should be slaves.

Marriages between white women & slaves.

be held in bondage. In 1681, Eleanor Butler, or Irish Nell, as she is termed in the Land Reports, servant to Lord Baltimore, was married to a negro slave. Baltimore claimed a [illegible] of the law of 1663, but it did not [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible]. [illegible] made it a mere form from mercenary motives. It was consequently made a penal offence, for a "master, mistress, or dame" to encourage a white woman to marry a negro slave. The maternal grandmother of Benj. Banneker the [illegible] mathematician and astronomer, who [illegible] in laying out the city of Washington, was a white woman, who married her negro slave. B. was born 1731, died 1804. p. 204.

Irish Nell.

Benj. Banneker.

In 1717, the population was 55,000 whites, and [illegible] 5,000 slaves. [illegible] servants bought and [illegible] 100 to 1700. Many planters fled and [illegible] became owners of the deserted estates. P. 204.

[illegible] servants thrifty.

The Marquis of Chastellux says he first saw poor whites in Maryland, after [illegible] to America.

3 blacks to 1 white.

There were in 1752, about three negro slaves for every white man, and a [illegible] had [illegible] in best [illegible], [illegible] called it "Italian" or "Mallorca" an English Estate. p. 211.

Census of 1752.

		Free.	Ind. Servants.	Convicts.	Total.
Census of 1752.	Men.	24,308	3576	1507	29,141
	Women	23,521	1824	386	25,731
	Boys	26,631	1049	67	27,752
	Girls.	24,141	422	21.	24,584
1981 convicts.	Total	98,357	6,870	1981	107,208.
	Whites				107,208
	Negroes.				42,764
	Mulattoes				3,592
					153,564.

p. 211.

Boucher on education. Boucher's Post Bloco Address on American Education, in which [illegible] school masters are [illegible], already found poor hireling, [illegible]! p. 212.

The Rev. D. Magill, Presbyterian of Upper Marlboro, advertized in 1722, as follows.

Runaway boy. "Runaway a servant, clothed with damask breeches & vest, black broad cloth coat, broad cloth cloak of copper color, lined and trimmed with black and black skins."

Children's catechism. [illegible] were [illegible] supplying the church of England [illegible] which they felt no interest, they [illegible] degraded their calling. [illegible] supplemented the catechism thus.

Catechism. Ques. Who is the monster of the first renown?

Ans. A tattered sot, a drunkard in a gown.

Sins could riddle while the company danced.
Nor such a class of priests, cock fighting, horse racing, gambling and profaneness were naturally common among parishioners. Ethan Allen "Scholar & Shepherd" Epis. priest in Virginia; Bishop Meade's "Old Parish Churches," Extract Sermon in Baltimore, 1784, referred to in foot note, p. 213.

Horse racing.

Servant author.

George Alsop, an indented servant, wrote a description of Maryland, published at London, in 1666.

Every male, white and black, and black females between 16 & 60 obliged to pay 40 pounds of tobacco, in support of the Church. All, and especially Catholics, who had to pay as well twice as much land tax as Protestants, and were debarred from voting & holding of office much dissatisfied. p. 215.

Catholics oppressed.

England's Improvement by Sea and Land. To Out do the Dutch, and Spanish Fishing, &c. &c. &c. Trade Wings, &c. &c. & Pole in the Way of Contract. &c. &c. Grants of our own Lands. &c. &c. &c. By Andrew Farranton, Gent. London. 1677.

Linen cloth.

Linen cloth brought to England, made in Holland & Flanders, but the thread in Saxony & Bohemia, and other parts of Germany, the upper parts. These victuals are cheap, and no beggar, nor occasion to beg, and in all Germany.

made in Holland, thread in Germany.

towns there are schools for little girls of 6 & upwards, to teach them to spin. These wheels go all by the foot. First there is a large room, and in the middle a little box like a pulpit. Next there are benches round the room as in our play houses. On these sit about 200 children spinning, and in the box, sits the grand mistress, holding a long white wand. Every idler she reaches a tap. If that will not do, she rings a bell, and out comes a woman. The mistress points to the offender and she is taken into another room & chastised, and all is done in want of speaking. And I believe this way of ordering the young women in Germany is one great cause that the German women have so little of the twit twat, and I am sure it would be well were it so in England. p. 45 b.

Boy
Girls of 6
& upward,
chise
ipped
ne twit
twat.

Good for Warwick, Leicester, Northampton & Oxfordshires. Land suited to flax, and have no staple manufacture.

Either in England great quantities of wool, [illegible] in their great pastures, [illegible] sheep at work infinite quantities of poor people, and yet I have seen [illegible] [illegible] that by the late enclosures in these counties, a dog and a boy do manage as much lands as formerly employed ten teams and kept 40 persons at work all the year, more considering that the land enclosed is treble the benefit to the owner than what it was before enclosed, and so it would be with the linen manufactures in these four counties. p. 50.

[illegible]
sures,
ate the
people at
work.
dog & boy.

The small towns will set their poor at work as they do in Germany. p. 51.

100,000 poor unemployed. Public cost of food, 4d. a day; employed, 8d. a day.

The author, addressing the poor, says, Now child, behave thee, be a good servant. When thou canest be bar in thy possession 20, either from friends or thy labor, put it in the Bank Company ... 20 d, (£20) then shalt have, 1 from back 2 d. shall not 5 pay, bale 1 d. This will come two ways, being of my family, thy wife, a man, a maid and three children, and thou art a bad husband if thou dost not thrive and get money in Bank corn, because thou hast nothing to pay for bread & drink ... Thou must at any time take up 10 or 12 d. to pay for the pack cattle to go to market for their manufactures. By these two ways, of having cheap bread & drink, and credit out of the bank, thou will have injured many of the poor task masters. Consider they were as the poor, and work for the advantage and set to thee, with cheap bread & drink, with money when needed, and if thou dost, leaving a widow, saying thyself, my daughter (meaning the widow) need not stay long for a husband; so thou, leaving her bank corn, and good stock & work to work, there will be 20 leaving or thou or thee & a widow that has seen a dozen in other parts, where thou gad, daughter, go there, saving, and honorable way is practised.

Bank company.

20 d. invest in grain.

Make a safe stock.

Widow with children good match

The author goes on, that pawn brokers will be ruined,

Poor wanted for work, & now wanted a union.

that there will be no occasion for lawyers, &c. but thou mayest be in a condition to augment the number of thy hands, increase thy estate and be able to set at work the idle poor, which now beg & steal. Then the neighbors will love thee for taking them off of them and thou will increase in riches, and at last it will be above a score to one, you shall have the poor, even as they now stand at the Tobacco House for persons to carry to Barbadoes or Virginia.

pp. 171-3.

An Essay on the State of England, in Relation to its Trade, its Poor, and its Taxes, as carrying on the Present War against France. By John Cary, Merchant in Bristol. Bristol, 1695.

Labor of the poor.

It hath been a constant observation that this nation never thrives more than when the labor of the poor is at such prices as they may live comfortably by it. p. 55.

Are the plantations any advantage? drain" us of people.

It has been a great question, whither our foreign plantations have been an advantage to this nation; the reasons they give against them are that they have drained us of multitudes of our people, who might have been serviceable at home, ... inhabitants being the wealth of a nation. ... But this must be hedge.

Fiddlers & beggars.

where you find enjoyment for them ... If the idle drone is maintained by the industrious bee, so are those who live by their fiddles, [illegible] & [illegible], [illegible] beggars, common fiddlers, but particularly beggars, who never [illegible] work. pp. 65, 6.

Logwood other.

Logwood, which we bring from Jamaica, though first brought from the Bay of Campeachy, [illegible] Guinea & [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] & respectable savages, who by force have made much settlement there, and defend themselves by the same means. p. 67.

Purpose of plantations.

The commodities exported and imported, being bulky, employ more ships & sailors, which leaves room for other laboring people to work at husbandry & manufactures. The first design of settling plantations abroad was that our people might better maintain a commerce & trade among themselves, the ship [illegible] to [illegible], and therefore laws were ~~were~~ to prevent the carrying their products to other places, or receive supplies from hence, [illegible] in our own ships, manned by English sailors, except in some cases. p. 68.

N. E. little advantage to E.

Among these plantations, I look on that of New England to be of least advantage to the mother country, as being settled by an industrious people, and affording few commodities [illegible] to be [illegible] better [illegible] & [illegible] selves by trading to the rest of the plantations, whom they

supply with provisions &c, p. 69.

The author's means to make the plantations more profitable to England. [illegible] shipped to any place Save England. To prevent them from being imported hither after manufactured there. To prevent exporting hence any simple things as iron, leather &c, to be manufactured there which it were better for this kingdom were not brought off hence. In fine, it lay for the African trade, that the Inhabitants may be supplied with negroes on easy terms. p. 71. Entire to [illegible]

make plantations profitable.

Product restricted.

slave trade free

[illegible] trade of the most advantage to this kingdom, if any we have, and as it now is proved. The Asiento, a trade we are lately fallen into, for which a factory is settled at Jamaica. p. 76.

Asiento.

The slowness of the African company, and the hardships put on private traders has made the [illegible] so much better on [illegible] and the Spaniards' expectations, that this profitable Asiento, hath [illegible] time [illegible] ready to [illegible] that is another [illegible], as it [illegible] long since, [illegible] the [illegible] had not given a better supply than the company. p. 77.

African company

private traders.

We now come to speak of Ireland, which of all the

Ireland cities, &c. manufactures, lessen our. plantations settled by the English, hath proved most injurious to the trade of this kingdom [illegible] p. 89, 91.

Ireland ill-peopled. It is not the advantage of an ill-peopled colony, whose riches are the pride of the earth, to divert any number of the inhabitants from the cultivation. [illegible] plantations done so, they had never been well settled, and this I take to be one great reason, why the English in Ireland have always lain open to the insults of the natives there, the country being thus left peopled in the more inland parts. p. 92 3.

labor & food. Wages must be according to the price of provisions. Wheat, 1s. per bushel, labor 3d. per day. p. 144.

Dutch, no beggars. The Dutch, who have little land products and manufactures, suffer no beggars, whereas we, whose wealth consists in the labor of our inhabitants, seem to encourage them. Livy observed it was the greatest sedition that ever was in Rome, where the citizens got want about with their hands in their pockets. p. 151.

Beggary, [illegible] Beggary now become an art. Children educated to it from [illegible] a profession or a livelihood. p. 152.

Cary - Essay on England.

Idlers & jimps.

People set themselves on such ways of living as our fathers would have been ashamed of ... Young men, in their full strengths, slavishly attend on selling a cup of ale, or are jimps to vice. p. 153.

[illegible] houses.

[illegible] people [illegible] to spare. [illegible] the King's Revenue suffer. p. 154.

Idlers, useless servants, &c.

Our useless people are increased by the nobility & gentry, leaving the country, and residing in London, taking with them multitudes of lusty young fellows, [illegible]

No servant should wear a sword, except when travelling, and if all people of mean qualities were prohibited, it were good, for when once they come to this, they think themselves above labor.

Mean people [illegible].

Selling ballads.

Young people should not trawle about the streets, nor sell ballads. If this must be done, let it be by the aged. p. 162.

Transportation approved.

Nor is the sending of lazy people to our plantations [illegible] evil. [illegible] good law [illegible] proved, [illegible] provided [illegible] still serve it in one of the limbs. p. 164.

The Political Works of Andrew Fletcher Esq. [of Saltoun]
London. 1737.

The Second Discourse, concerning the Affairs of Scotland, written in 1698.

I think, with all due respect to the Parliament, offer my opinions, concerning two subjects, which the urgent & pressing distresses of the nation require to be considered. p. 121.

Starvation.

The first is the condition of so many thousands of our people, who are at this day dying for want of bread. p. 122.

The want of bread occasioned by the continued bad season of this and the three preceding years, and the evil is greater than it was in any day. At these have always been in Scotland such numbers of poor as to be a nuisance to the nation, which could not be relieved by public provision; and these countries have always swarmed with such numbers of idle vagabonds, as no laws could ever restrain.

Swarms of vagabonds.

Fletcher then, in a few strokes, of the many excellent laws instituted since the Reformation, for setting the poor to work, of which nothing was obtained. p. 124.

Excellent laws.

[Which see in Eden.]

At length, he found the original of that multitude of beggars, which now oppress the world, to have proceeded from Christians, who, when the civil public establishment of a Christian religion, recommended nothing more to masters, in order to the salvation of their souls, than the letting such of their slaves at liberty, as would become Christians with.

Beggars caused by the Gospel. which preaches freeing slaves. Paul.

And yet our Saviour and his Apostles, were so far from invading any man's property, that the Apostle Paul, instead of freeing those called, says, "Let every man wherein he is called therein abide with God. Art thou called being a slave? care not for it: but if thou mightest be free, choose to continue in it." &c. p. 126.

Slaves liberty to slaves, upon profession of Christian religion, was so much hated, even in the time of Constantine the Great, that the slaves of the Empire was burdened with them. p. 127.

Constantine.

This is the rise of the great mischief, under which to the undoing of the poor, the nations of Europe have since groaned. In ancient times, every man, who was the possession of another was provided for; whereas hospitals, alms-houses &c. have been found to increase the numbers that live by them. ..... p. 129.

Alms-houses increase beggars.

Whereas when such an economy [the care of the poor] comes under the inspection of every master of a family [who sees them, and he himself is to pay the poor rate], it is impossible, he should have a vast number, and if he can, will have fewer, seeing he has more with them, to share, the right is so natural to every p. 130.

Doctor Tucker.

The use of their slaves.

He continues that what he has said will meet with disdain, and he will be asked how he can oppose the tyranny of princes, if he would make

himself a tyrant over other. But I regard not names but things. We are told there is not a slave in France; that when a slave gets out there he is free; and I say that there is not a freeman in France, for the King takes away any part of any man's property, and there is no remedy. p. 132.

No freemen in France.

Slave defined.

A slave properly is one, who is absolutely subjected to the will of another, without any remedy. p. 132.

The poor incapable of self-direction.

[illegible] recommend that people must not [illegible], since they are abandoned in their conduct. p. 133.

But I do not approve of such regulations about slaves, and I will [illegible] what conditions they might be both good and useful, and as I think, necessary in a good government. First, their masters should have no power over their lives. p. 134 They should wear no habit or mark to distinguish them from hired servants. Any man should be punished who gives them the [illegible] name of slave. p. 135.

Slave rules.

So, except that they [illegible] nothing, as might be said, [illegible] would be but an alienation of their service without their consent, they could be no more [illegible] than those who by [illegible] power [illegible] all things, are often in want of every thing. So that many thousands starve. p. 136.

Slaves better off than free.

Extracts from Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun.

You will say that slaves may be beaten, worked beyond measure, neglected in sickness, but I answer that this is worst to the master himself. He will not use his beast badly, out of humour merely, or if such things happen sometimes by passion, it will be forgiven from the perverseness of the servant. p. 136.

Masters interest to be kind.

Fletcher thinks that the unspeakable vexations which we suffer from our hired servants, growing every day worse, will in the end lead to return to the employment of slaves... A slave though provided with very little money by the master, yet possessing nothing, had no temptation to cheat his master, whereas a hired servant, unmarried, will cheat him to provide for marriage, and after it, will cheat him much more. p. 148.

Slaves honester than servants

why.

200,000 poor men to ten beggars, yet in Scotland, besides a great many poor families, very scantily provided for, but the Church keeps. Though the number is perhaps double what it was formerly, from the present state, yet there have always been about 100,000 who lived entirely according to the laws of the land, or those of God and nature. Fathers, mothers, with their daughters, the son with the mother and the other with the sister. The magistrate cannot even learn how one in a hundred of these wretches died, or that they were ever baptised. They commit many mur-

20,000 wagers in Scotland.

incest.

murderers,

no baptism.

dere, are an unspeakable oppression to poor tenants, who, if they give not bread to perhaps 40 such villains in a day, are sure to be insulted, and they often rob those who live in remote places. pp. 144 5.

robbery.

In years of plenty, many thousands meet in the mountains and feast and riot for days. At country weddings, markets and burials, men & women are seen perpetually drunk, cursing, blaspheming and fighting together.

Meet in the same time to riot.

These are such outrageous disorders that it were better for the nation they were sold as the galleys, or the plantations. p. 146.

Sold to W.I.

By an Act of Parliament of 1579, a vagabond is declared as late as that, or even the first of any beggar as a vagrant for a term of years, and that term was by an Act of 1597 was extended to life. It was a great advance forward in civilization but from fear, and the ancient tyrannical or civil liberty, they did not give the power to sell. p. 147.

Act of 1579, & 1597.

Life sentence.

Fletcher's Plan. Every man of a certain estate should be obliged to take a perpetual number of these vagabonds. They should stock his grounds, or the children, he should teach them a trade so that every man of estate might have a little manufacture of his own, which might maintain these servants, & bring great profit to the master, as they did to the ancients. p. 148.

Vagabonds to be divided out to the rich.

Hospitals. Hospitals to be provided for the decrepid, and forever cripple and lame, and a number of the most notorious of those villains, which no civil police might be secured by, prevented by the government to the state of Venice, to serve in their galleys against the common enemy of Christendom. p. 149.

Galley slaves.

He adds that great address must be used for this, as those people are so desperately wicked, such enemies to work, and yet so amazing proud that unless prevented on the first notice of such a plan, that they will rather die in caves & dens, & murder their children, than be taken into such service. p. 149. And the Highlands are an unsearchable retreat for them.

Much address must be used.

" wicked & proud.

The original source of our poverty, I should place in the excessive rent of lands, which makes the tenant poorer than his servant. 154.

Excessive rent.

The country people are enemies to all manner of enclosures. p. 155.

enclosures.

Conversation concerning a Right Regulation of Governments.

No laws or regulations, replied Sir Chr—, are sufficient to restrain the luxury of a nation, to banish thousands of prostitutes, or prevent more from being the

launched, where, by means of a mask, a hackney coach, a tavern and a play house, which is call a city spirit, they are at liberty to do what they please. Even the poorer sort are tempted in all manner of lewdness by innumerable ballads, sung in every corner of the streets. One would think said the Duke, this last was a no small evil.

Ballads

I said I knew a very wise man, so much of Sir Chas. sentiment, that he believed if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation. The ancient Legislators to reform the manners of any city, thought they needed the best lawgiver, and sometimes of a dramatic poet. But in this city, the dramatic poet, we see, the ballad maker has been almost wholly employed to corrupt the people, in which they have had the most deplorable success.

laws of a nation.

p. 53.

This anonymous quotation has generally been supposed to be in praise of ballads.]

An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations. By Adam Smith, LL.D. Edited by J. E. T. Rogers. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 1869.

Vol. 1st.

Value of gold. ½.

The discovery of the abundant mines of America, reduced in the 16th Century, the value of gold and silver in Europe about one third.

p. 38.

Adam Smith. "Wealth of Nations."

Gold no measure of value, as it constantly varies. p. 84.

A century ago, Lancashire was one of the poorest counties in England, now from manufactures, one of the richest. This has caused a continuous removal of capital instead of labour. Hence the parish settlement laws were injurious. p. 92.

Parish settlement.

Let the reader cut the most thriving counties are the highest wages. England (1773) rather than N. America, but in New York common labour earns 3s 6d. equal to 2s sterling a day. Ship carpenters 10s 6d currency and a pint of rum - 6d; equal in all to 6s 6d sterling; house carpenters & brick layers 8s. 4s 6d sterling; tailors 8s - 2s 10d sterling. These prices are all above London prices. p. 98.

New York wages in 1773.

On the N. A. colonies, population doubles in 20 or 25 years. The increase principally owing not to emigration but to great multiplication. Old people there frequently see from 50 to 100 and sometimes more descendants. Labor is so well rewarded, that a large family of children is a source of opulence. The labor of each child during minority computed at a hundred pounds clear gain to parents. A young widow, with 4 or 5 young children, who among the middling or inferior ranks in Europe, would have so little chance for a second husband,

Labours

Widow, with young children, a fortune in N.A.

is these bequests counted as a sort of feature. Great, Standing, this increase, there is a constant want of hands in N.A. p. 74.

Wages in summer, is in winter, family expense highest, from the great expense in of fuel. p. 77.
winter highest.

Greg. King. Gregory King, whose chart is printed with notice is so much extolled by Dr. Davenant. p. 81.

Poverty. Poverty forces out the young as soon as the parents of children. die. It is not uncommon in the Highlands for a mother who has borne 20, not to have 2 alive. p. 83.

Holland business. It is unfashionable in Holland, not to be a man of business. p. 101.

Laws universities. Seven years universal for apprenticeship in incorporated trades. Incorporations are mentioned called Universities. Thus Universities as Oxford & Cambridge are first established, the term of 7 years study for a degree extended from the term of trade apprenticeship. p. [illegible]

Travelling at Norwich. Mr. Fellowforce says, (Local Life in Norwich) the term of freedom is from 9 to 5 years. Has serving three or two years a journeyman for 7 years, first spent on land, [illegible]

obtain a concession to trade, granted apparently
at the instigation of the trades. By first into
Exclusive corporation, the "Statute 5th Eliz." the journeymen
bound to trades then established, and a master-
workman could make such profits, but must buy
them of the wheelwright. p. 127.

wheelwright.

The patrimony of a poor man lies in the strength &
dexterity of his hands, and to hinder him from em-
ploying them innocently is a plain violation of this
most sacred property. p. 128.

patrimony law.

Of the poor form apprenticeships. A young man dislikes
labor, when he receives no benefit. Charity boy, upon
his bound for extra number of years, giving no other
worthless. p. 129.

Clearly apprentice

In England, a town charter had to be granted by the
King, [illegible] purchasing money. p. 130.

town charter.

Before the invention of printing, scholar and beggar
seemed to have been nearly synonymous terms. The
progress of Universities appears rather to have rendered
scholars less fit for begging. After the Reformation, the
Universities were almost the only places of education. p. 131.

beggars.

The extreme poverty of labor in England, in places
not far apart, owing to the law of settlements. To re-
move a man for no misdemeanor from the parish
unjust.

law of settlement.

where he chooses to reside, is an evident violation of natural liberty. p. 148.

Poor man free

Scarce a poor man in England of 40 years of age, who has not in some part of his life, felt himself not only oppressed by this ill contrived law. p. 147.

Master & Servants, workmen.

Even the legislature attempts to regulate the differences between masters and their workmen, its counsels are always the same. Wherever law is concerned, the masters can, by 10 Geo. 3. c. 54, confederate, and have long been in use to do so, without incurring any censure or even any reproach, but the workmen, when they have recourse to the same practice, are every where, not only blamed, but punished. p. 47.

Potatoes & meat, laborers.

Zeno In consequence of the extension of agriculture, more eatable food is produced. Potatoes and meat are therefore seldom eaten by laborers. p. 178.

G. King wheat.

In 1688, Mr. Gregory King, a man famous for his knowledge in matters of this kind, estimated the average price of wheat at 3s. 6d. per bushel. p. 207.

In the ancient state of Europe, the occupiers of land were tenants at will. They were mostly slaves, but their slavery was milder than that of the Greeks, Romans, or modern Slaves. They belonged more to the land than to the master. They could be sold with it, but not separately. They could marry by consent of master, who could not afterwards sell many wife to a different person. If the master manumitted, or murdered a servant, he was liable to some penalties, though gener

Adam Smith, Wealth of Nations.

all a small one. The slaves could not acquire property. They could only acquire their daily maintenance. This species of slavery still subsists in Russia, Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, & other parts of Germany. In the Western and Southwestern provinces of Europe only has it gradually been abolished. p. 370.

Slavery in Europe, described.

Still in Germany.

The pride of man makes him hate dominion, and nothing mortifies him so much as to be obliged to procure his inferiors. He, therefore generally prefers the service of slaves to that of freemen. The late resolution of the Quakers in Penna, to free their slaves, shows that their number cannot be great. Had it been considerable, the resolution could not have been agreed to. p. 371.

Pride of man.

Penna Quakers, slaves.

If free laborers can acquire property, they work better than slaves. Partly from this cause, & further because the sovereign always jealous of the great lords, gradually encouraged the villains to become a new authority, was it that villainage gradually wore out in the most of Europe. p. 372.

Villainage worn out.

The tenants of Europe were bound to make & keep up the high roads, a servitude which still exists everywhere, and when the King's troops, his household, his officers pass through any part of the country, the yeomanry had to provide them with

Economics still in France & Germany.

horses, carriages & provisions, all of price regulated by the purchase. Great Britain, is, I believe, the only country in Europe, where the oppression of purchase has been entirely abolished. It still subsists in France & Germany. p. 376.

Tradesmen's condition.

In most of Europe, the tradesmen are regarded as inferior to the better sort of tradesmen, mechanics, and, in all parts of it, to the great merchants, and master manufacturers. p. 377.

All for ourselves.

All for ourselves and nothing for other people seems in every age of the world to have been the vile maxim of the masters of mankind. p. 415.

Other Nations of age.

In Europe, primogeniture and entail prevent the division of great estates. Other [illegible] not known at age, is "the magic of property turns sand into gold." p. 417.

Vol. 2nd.

The Portuguese, it is said, are better customers than the French, and should be encouraged in preference. Thus the shallow ideas of mercantile traders have been erected into political maxims. By these maxims, nations have been taught that their interest consisted in beggaring their neighbors, and that the gain of one was the loss of another. But the more opulent and more thriving great merchants and manufacturers, we see, are not alarmed at the idea of great cities, French

"Beggarmen" Policy the policy adopted & must not be followed.

it cannot perhaps be corrected, may easily be prevented from disturbing our tranquility. p. 68.

Colony; plantation, colon. The Latin word Colonia signifies simply a plantation. p. 85.

The Spaniards claimed all America, and though they could not hinder so great a naval power as Portugal from settling Brazil, yet such was the terror that most other European nations were afraid to settle in the rest continent. The French in Florida were all murdered, but the declension of the Spanish naval power by the destruction of their Invincible Armada, changed all this. p. 147.

Expences of colonial governments, p. 154.

Savages Brazil. Mexico & Peru. The Europeans were invited by the Legislator, instead of "Civilizing" and invited to Brazil, introduced their manners, vices, sort of order and industry among the barbarous people, and taught them the arts of civilized life, which they had from whom that country was originally peopled, and taught them the culture of the original cane. So in the case of the English Puritans in N.E., the Cavaliers in Virg. and the Quakers of Penna., it was not the wisdom and policy but the tyranny and injustice of European governments, which peopled America. p. 89.

From shop keepers, tradesmen & attorneys, they are

become statesmen and legislators, and are employed in contriving a new form of government for an extensive empire, which the gentlemen thereby hope, and which indeed seems very likely to become, one of the greatest and most formidable that ever was in the world. Almost every individual of the governing party fills in his own fancy, a station superior to what he had ever expected to fill, and unless some new object of ambition is presented to him, or his leaders, if he has the ordinary spirit of a man, he will die in defence of that station. [illegible] p. 201.

Ivers the ... in 1[illegible].

French courts.

In France, courts make one of the principal instruments of tyranny by which [illegible] p. 316.

scholars " masters.

The hospitals, colleges and universities are generally contrived not for the benefit of the students but for the ease of the masters. p. 347.

There are no public institutions for the education of women, there is accordingly nothing absurd in their education. They are taught what parents judge useful and nothing else. . . . Either by inspiring the school structure of female virtue, modesty, chastity, economy, &c. make them fit for mistresses of a family, and when married, as such. A woman feels some advantage from every

Female education.

part of her education, a man none, from some of the most laborious parts of life. p. 354.

Religious sects, common people.

Almost all the religious sects have begun among the common people, who have furnished their most numerous proselytes. An austere system, has frequently recommended itself more than anything else to the respect and veneration of the common people. pp. 379-80.

Tax under rents in Eng.

Taxes in Holland on menial servants are not upon stock, but upon expence. A guinea a head on every man servant in G. B. lately imposed is of the same kind. It falls heavy on the public inn. A man of 200 rents may keep one, a man of 10.000 will not keep 50, the poor keeps none. p. 452.

Tax on trades.

In Bohemia, since 1748, a heavy tax is laid on the industry of artificers. Of one class, the highest pay 100 florins a year — £9 7s 6d. — the second, 70 flor. the third 40, and the poorest, which are the most class in towns, 25 flor. 20d — half a penny a florin. p. 492.

Merchants despised.

During the times of feudal anarchy, merchants, like all the inhabitants of towns, were considered with little more than emancipated bondmen, whose persons were despised and whose gains were envied. p. 456.

Family estates in the same family shows that people generally lived within their income. p. 507.
feudal times.

The History of Brazil, by Robert Southey. In 3 vols. London. 1810.

Vol. 1st.

The system of Portugal was to make its criminals of use, the territory and population being small for its extensive colonies. Hitherto, they had been deported to the African frontier, and more recently, to India. The crimes thus punished were those of blood & violence.

Convicts in Brazil. This system was extended to Brazil. The first Europeans left on shore there were the convicts. In Africa, or India, the exile was cast to war with the savages, who could not unite him as regard because they were obliged to associate with him. So many criminals, in proportion to the better settlers, were sent to Brazil, who were more likely to communicate evil than to learn good. They and the savages made each other worse. The cannibals acquired new means of destruction, the Europeans new modes of barbarity. p. 3.

[See back p. 276. for Jews in Brazil.]

Appleton's Cyclopedia.

[The Portuguese established a colony on the coast of Brazil in 1504, and later others, at different points. As

[illegible] the colonies were neglected till 1547.]

A New Discourse of Trade, by Sir Josiah Child. London, 1698.

Second Set of Extracts.

Chapter II.

Concerning the Relief and Employment of the Poor.

Standing sore. He [illegible] be ill taken, although the plaister at first essay, do not exactly fit the sore. p. 80.

I shall first assert some particulars which I think are agreed by common consent.

First, That our poor in England have always been in a most sad & wretched condition; some famished for want of bread, others starved, with cold & nakedness, and many families in suburbs of towns, are paltry, useless, uncomfortable to themselves, and a burthen to the kingdom.

Poor always starving & cold.

Second, That poor children, bred up in beggary & laziness, are subject to loathsome diseases, whereof many die young, and those who live of them, [illegible] the table, [illegible] poor [illegible] and stocks the kingdom with thieves & beggars.

Children diseased

Poor up, breed beggars & thieves.

Third, That if the poor were employed it would

Employment with Trade advantage. redound some hundreds of thousands of pounds per annum, to the public

Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth, - It is our duty to provide for & employ the poor. Thus one of the great sins would be removed. That our fathers had this intention appears by the Statutes.

Employed in N.E. - Holland. 7th. That the poor are provided for and employed in Holland, Hamborough, New England; and as I am informed, in Paris.

Question. How comes it that in England we do not, nor ever did, comfortably maintain or employ our poor?

Laws not executed. Answers, 1st. - Our laws are good but not executed. 2nd. Formerly the work was done but now charity is decreased. p. 81 2.

Great evil. The great evil in our poor system is the leaving each parish to maintain its own. From this follows the shifting off, sending or shipping back the poor vagrants.

" A poor idle person that will not take work, or cannot get it, comes to London as a beggar. She may pass 5 or 20 parishes before she is questioned. Then if a beadle finds her, she is lost, will be a load, nor the expense of 5 or 6 horses, sets neither parish, and then concludes in her favour more to, that, in such case will, if she supposes to be sent for before a justice, has her stripped, and sent from parish to parish to her place of abode. This is a great charge and nothing lost for the rogues, for she is an idle, lazy, or vicious trade, and her with that little she had is whipped. p. 86.

Each parish maintain its own.

Supposed sent back

Sir Josiah Child A New Discourse of Trade.

Bad laws, ill executed. You say the laws are ill executed. - I say there never was a good law that was not well executed. The fault of the law causing a failure of execution. p. 87.

Under a Corporation. [illegible] parishioners to take security before they suffer a poor person to settle, [illegible] bad [illegible] as of a nation, consisting in a multitude of inhabitants. [illegible] would rather bring them in than keep them out.... The subtile Dutch receive and relieve, or employ all that come, not asking what nation, much less what parish they are of. p. 88.

You invite not what the poor. Queen.

Proposes to throw all the parishes of London into one poor district, and place the poor under the charge of an Assembly of men, called the fathers of the poor. [illegible] p. 91.

Poor have done, the fathers

Proposes that the fathers always wear an honorable medal. p. 92.

medal.

Question. What sort of men the people will be most satisfied

[illegible] governors, [illegible] in the [illegible] [illegible] Companies [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] being guided by the [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible]; that the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] are the best [illegible] — *[margin:* [illegible] *corporations* & *charities]* — traitors of what is left to charitable uses. Witness the ill and fraudulent management of the London Hospitals, [illegible] that prudent ecclesiastic, Dean Colet of St. Paul's, [illegible] the government of that school and other concerns to the [illegible] company. *[margin: Colet.]* [illegible] p. [illegible]

[margin: Let the poor work — [illegible] — [illegible]]

Let the poor [illegible] will [illegible] [illegible] to work, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] by this system [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] from place to place, and [illegible] their [illegible].
The [illegible] will be [illegible] supplied with [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] p. [illegible]

[margin: [illegible], Girls & boys' work.]

The girls may be employed in making clothes for the [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] &c.; the boys in [illegible] [illegible], making [illegible], [illegible] wool &c. p. [illegible]

═

[illegible] the Earl of Selkirk's Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland, with a View of the Causes and [illegible] Consequences of Emigration. Edinburgh, 18[illegible].

[margin: Scotch emigration frequent.]

Emigrations have for many years taken place from the Highlands of Scotland, numerous & frequent. p. [illegible]
Not [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in the [illegible] of the [illegible], but because in the progress of improvement it was pro-

Remarks on the Earl of Selkirk's Observations.

High rent. ceed that the tenants should pay a higher rent than they had paid for centuries, when produce was less, and less valuable. p. 5.

Harper's opr. In a country where a proprietor receives most of his rent in kind, it is a matter of interest to give portions of land for services, generally paid for by money. [illegible] the tenant always possessed a portion of land in wages. p. 25.

Tacksmen. Tacksmen were the holders of large farms, were considered in the same light as proprietors, and acted on the same principles. They were the officers who commanded under the chief. They were not inclined to agricultural industry; they kept a part of the farm, and let off the rest in small portions to cottars. p. 26.

Lairds will in. Not many years have passed since the clans knew no law but their lairds' will. He told them to whom they should be friends or enemies, what king to obey, what religion to profess. [Johnson's Journey, p. 196] p. 34.

Need patronage. Without the constant and increasing [illegible] an intelligent proprietor, it is not easy to conceive how any well directed efforts can be made at first by the people. [said of organized, as distinct from spontaneous

emigration.] p. 204.

Emigration. That emigration has no permanent effect on population
Population. may be learned from Malthus. Where there is room
Doctrine. [illegible] p. 238.

Highland [illegible] the same. [illegible] p. [illegible]

Oglethorpe. In November, 1732, Gen. Oglethorpe embarked with 116 settlers for Georgia and built Savannah. p. 347.

The Legislature of S. Carolina, considering Ga. a barrier against the Spaniards, memorialized Parliament. In it, it is said "the first embarkations being collected from English towns & [illegible] Georgia [illegible] Germans & Swiss [illegible] 180 Highlanders immediately accepted their terms, were transported to Ga. and built a town called Inverness. [illegible] received 400 British, & 170 foreign [illegible]. p. 347.

In the above volume follows,

Statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement on Red River in N. A. Its Destruction in 1815 16, and the Massacre of Gov. Semple and party. London. 1817.

Works of Peter Pindar.

[Mem. to read this account and learn the causes of the destruction.]

A Report on the Disputes between the Earl of Selkirk & the North West Company, at the Assizes in York. Ub. Can. Ed. 1818. London, 1817.

Following the above is,

Trial Folio of John Fairright and Five Others for the Murder of Governor Semple.

[Mem. to examine this also.]

These four works, all on the same subject, are bound in two volumes.

Works of Peter Pindar, in 4 vols. London, 1797.

Vol. III.

A Plaintive Epistle to Mr. Pitt.

O mighty master of the ways & means;
To strike the golden tight of time & guineas, ...
The modest bard, for five short minutes bear
Nor may the Muses' wisdom, wound thine ear.

Satire on Pitt Pinder-tax.

Sick of the taxes, while the worried nation,
Drags her last penny forth, and fears starvation,
Whose voice is loud, and daily growing louder,
List to the serious sound, and damn the Powder. p.15.
The groupe of hair dressers all idle stand,
A melancholy, mute and mournful band.

see now each hopeless fright with fury foams,
His curlings iron breaks [illegible]
Ah! doomed to shut these mouths as well as shops,
For dead is custom mid the world of crops. * p. 56.

[Note. Such is the universal disgust at the powder tax, that many thousands of the male sex have already sacrificed their favorite curls to disappoint the rapacity of a minister.] p. 56.

[illegible] Pitt, for know at times, I'm rather daft,
Why [illegible] they tax exempt a royal skull?
[illegible] free not creeping things about the court?
[illegible] nation will not thank you for it.
p. [illegible]

Suppose Dundas (show a vinegar sport)
May some sace character to charm the court,
And boldly run the gauntlet race through a mob,
That execrates, that damns the powder, not,
Where barbers, hairdressers, perfumers throng,
So hoot and mutter as he course along. p. 97.

Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin, By the Rt. Hon. Geo. Canning, Earl of Carlisle, Marquis Wellesley, Rt. Hon. G. H. Rose, T. Grenville, Esq. Rt. Hon. W. Pitt, G. Ellis, Esq. with Notes by C. Edmonds, & Caricatures by Gillray, 2nd. Ed. London 1854.

Poetry of the anti Jacobin.

There lethase;

This clever parody refers to the attempt made by the Duke of Northumberland to evade payment of Mr. Pitt's income tax.

And soon a law like arrow keen,
Or shear or crystal axe,
Struck poor Duke Smithson to the heart,
In shape of powder tax.

Sore leaning on his crutch he cried,
Crop, crop my, merry men all,
No guinea, for your head I'll pay,
Though Church & State should fall. p.103.

[illegible] the tax [illegible] hair powder [illegible] the public declining its use. Those who continued it were called "guinea pigs," the tax being a guinea per [illegible].

There are other notes on this subject in these volumes, it being a very popular source of satire. [illegible] tax [illegible] hair, and thus a tax, which failed of its object increasing a revenue, inured to the advancement of civilization, for cropped hair is promotive both of health and cleanliness. Long hair, however, with men, made a rally about 1887. It continued say for two or three years, but never reached lower than the coat collar, and there ends in extreme cases. The side locks were sometimes longer, and were called "soap

locks." I believe because soap was used to keep them in position. Long hair was given up, at least in Philadelphia, before 1840, because it was found uncomfortable, and because, being uncombed, it collected dirt, and soiled the coat collar. It probably will never be worn again. These extracts of course belong to the chapter on costume, as connected with civilization, if it shall ever be written.

A Tour in Sweden in 1838; comprising Observations on the Moral, Political, and Economical State of the Swedish Nation. By Samuel Laing, Esq. London, 1839.

Population Hamburg's contingent 1300.

The population of Hamburg, 140,000, and its contingent to the forces of the Germanic body is 1300 men. Edinburgh or Glasgow each with a larger population would find this an intolerable burden. But Hamburg is a commercial, not a manufacturing town, and the transport of goods can occupy but a small proportion of the laboring class. p. 5.

Population of Denmark 1,223,807. – 43,567, ~~or 1 in 10,~~ are paupers. 1470 are slaves or condemned convicts. 6,960 are civil functionaries, supporting 23,088 families. 4424 are [illegible] 1,125, [illegible] supporting 2850 persons. 170 naval officers, supporting 747

[illegible] 5785 [illegible] officers, soldiers, sailors,
10 subjects 3088. 1867 are sailors, supporting 4167. The to-
1. tal number supported by a public of 1.223.807 is
121.444, or every 10 individuals have to support one.
The people are sunk in poverty & sloth, though
People poor. occupying the richest soil in Northern Europe. p.15.

A kind of disease in this government engendered
by the practice of interfering in every branch of
industry, with its regulations, to embark on its own
account in iron [illegible] breweries, [illegible] works, glass
Government works, color works, &c. &c. Thousands live by them
selves, and to that end, [illegible] the [illegible]
of private industry. On the separation of Norway &
Discouraging Sweden, [illegible] the [illegible], Then these
[illegible] p.16.

[illegible] p. 28.

Carlstad, another of Gottenburg contains 2300 persons.
2 book sellers shops and a music seller, but not a
book shops, butcher. Families have butchers meat killed & salted
but no, in autumn. With us, the fine arts is not so generally
butcher. [illegible] p. 29.

At every mile and a half, Swedish, that is from 7 to 10

Forced to furnish horses. " fined or whipped " [illegible], [illegible] — miles English) there is a post station to which the peasants are obliged to bring their horses, after certain days, to post with travellers. Pretty sharp fines, corporal punishment, when fines cannot be paid, and functionaries with an interest in fines keep this system effective. pp. 38-9.

This system is very vexatious, and an infringement of the freedom of property [illegible] the [illegible] will, but is an old abuse, unworthy of the present age. p. 40.

musical. — All Swedes are musical. p. 68.

Stockholm: [illegible] & idle. — 46.068 out of 77.500, the population of Stockholm, have no capital, income, trade or fixed means of living. A very great proportion to be in idleness and want. p. 76.

Poverty " finery. — Swedes fond of dress, - have ease and elegance, - the influence of a Court in a small city, - accounts for the discrepancy of poverty and a [illegible] population, established by statistics, amidst apparent luxury. pp. 77-8.

trade taxed. " no free competition. — In Sweden and I believe all over the continent, every branch of industry, excepting common labor in husbandry, is exercised by privilege. As the tradesman pays a tax, he has a right to protection against whatever would diminish his profits, that is, against free competition. p. 82.

Laing's Tour in Sweden, in 1838.

A man, of the middle and working classes, cannot generally marry before he is established in a fixed home and means of living. To be entitled to be set up as a master, he must serve an apprenticeship of 5, 7, or in some vocations, 10 years, ~~can only take~~ Only a certain number of apprentices can be taken. After apprenticeship, he must serve a journeymanship for 4 to 6 years, travel as a journeyman, for 2 and in some trades 4 years, working for improvement. He carries his pass book & certificates with him, and is allowed to seek work in each town. Finding none, he receives travelling money out of the funds of the incorporation, to go on. This is a matter of right, it can be enforced. After his wanderings, he returns a master journeyman, and may claim admission as master in his craft. First, however, producing a master piece of his workmanship, to be judged of by the heads of his incorporation. pp. 82-3.

Handicraft

Ship

restrictions on trade.

In handicraft, or retail trades, after all this waste of time, a young man must wait for a vacancy in order to get a privilege, unless in the opinion of the authorities an additional master is required by the public. This system extends to the whole country. The advantages are that it forces population to find subsistence, by delaying marriage, and that it secures subsistence after marriage.

Relieves the class from care and anxiety, gives leisure to cultivate music, gardening, &c. among a class who with no wants [illegible] for time, [illegible] peopling more human beings from being born than can find subsistence, and furnishes revenue to all the continental states. This is the fair side. The other is that the young artizan, when he should be acquiring dexterity and habits of industry, is wandering like a vagabond without constant work, and is subsisted, like a pauper from the top of his trade. It is this moving mass of the whole youth of the continent between 20 & 30, which makes those secret associations called Young Germany, the Burschenschaft &c., in reality formidable. pp. 355-6.

The stipation of the tradesman does not depend with us, on his character, but on his finite. It is one that cannot be paid with, of course [illegible] not, but because of the monopoly. The result is, smithwork, joiner work, work in leather, cloth &c, are very imperfectly executed, as compared with England, and [illegible] in time, and is [illegible] with waste of time and labor. To plane a board requires two men, one shoving, the other drawing. It is the same with sawing, and often a third holds the piece of wood steady. pp. 87-8.

Sawing

Planing.

The people of England cultivate a taste for neatness, finish and perfection in everything they use. Abroad we see

continental, classical forms, well-combined colors, in furniture, to
which our tradesmen are strangers, but the window
taste for frames, hinges, door locks, woodwork, metal work,
finish, are [illegible] [illegible] place. [illegible] are
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. The
wandering workmen have not become expert.

A case reported in a Danish newspaper.
England, A person had ordered a still to be made. The brass
taste for [illegible] [illegible] cast and filled, but a copper
useful smith has no right to cast metal; that belongs to the
arts. gilders, and the copper smith was prosecuted for un-
Copper smith lawful infringement, and he was fined.
[illegible] p. 90.
[illegible]

This system prevails in Sweden. In England
that is lawful that has not been forbidden. Continent,
List of trades nothing lawful, but what law permits.
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] trades permitted in 1835. p. 90.

The restrictive system is evidently incompatible with
national wealth and industry. p. 91.

The foreigner, the Swede or German, may come over &
German exercise his trade, & employ his capital in one of
more free our towns more easily than he could in his native
country, [illegible] and as he can do this more easily than
them home, in America than in England, and enjoy political
privileges, besides, he prefers to come hither. p. 92.

Laing's Tour in Sweden in 1838.

Laing adds that medicine and law are perhaps the only exceptions to this unrestricted freedom of industry in Britain. p. [illegible]

Crusenstolpe, a lively Swedish writer, had taken to [illegible] a military office, [illegible] passed over in promotions. The promotion of his rival was dated on Sunday, therefore not legal, and the writer, C., said that [illegible] contrary to God, as well as constitutional law. For this, C. was indicted for high treason and condemned [illegible] years' imprisonment. p. [illegible]

Crusenstolpe's [illegible] of [illegible] offences.

Sweden, in a more demoralized state than any nation in Europe. In 1835, one person in every 114, had been accused, and 1 in every 170 had been convicted of some crime. From 1826, to 1834, inclusive, 1 in every 49, of towns and 1 in [illegible] of country, were accused each year for crime. pp. 108 f.

Statistics of Sweden's morals.

In 1835 in Norway, 1 in 457 was accused, and 1 in every 662 was convicted, but only 1 in 1402 for crime, the rest being police cases. In Denmark, in 1835, 1 in 678, was accused and 1 in [illegible] convicted of crime. In England and Wales, in 1831, 1 in 707 accused, and 1 in 1005 convicted of crime. p. [illegible]

Crime in Norway.

In Ireland, in 1834, 1 in every 371½ was committed and 1 in 557 convicted of crime. p. 112.

Ireland.

The great difference, between the numbers of committals and convictions in Ireland proves that the laws are badly administered, but

Moral condition of Sweden far below that of Ireland. In Stockholm, the illegitimate are to the legitimate, as 1 to 2 3/10. In a Christian community is there a state of female morals approaching this. In Paris, the proportion according to Puchet, is 1 to 5, and in the other towns of France, 1 in 7½. In England and Wales, 1 to 19, and in London & Middlesex, 1 to 28. Much weight cannot be given to the English returns, as an index of morality, because the old poor law had not a premium to illicit intercourse, by allowing the marriage, by the parish allowance in each child born in wedlock. p. 13.

Illegitimacy

In Sweden, from 1800 to 1810, the proportion was 1 in 16. From 1810 to 1820, 1 in 14. From 1820 to 1830, 1 in 14 6/10. Still in the last three years, in Stockholm, buildings were erected by the authorities, in a principal street, and unfortunate females collected into it, & a code of regulations given out for their conduct, p. 15.

Two minor causes were stated to me, as contributing to lower the female morals. One is, that no woman of the higher, or middle ranks ever, if she can avoid it, nurses her own child. A girl, who has had a child is therefore pretty sure of getting

nurse their children.

a place for 2 years. The girls own child can be placed in the foundling hospital, which is the great minor cause. The unchaste in Stockholm are therefore better off than the chaste. p. 116.

Unchaste girls, nurses.

Radical defect privileged privilege.

The radical defect is too great preponderance of privileged classes, of persons, whose well being is attained by other means than public estimation gained by moral worth. p. 117.

In this country, there are about 19 different titles of personal distinction besides those of noble birth, civil and military rank. Each has its place in the code, and observances of etiquette. Another cause of demoralization is the [illegible] of a dissolute court. p. 122.

Swedes imitate French.

The [illegible] court, [illegible] imitation of the vicious [illegible] of the French, [illegible] the age of Louis XIV. was encouraged by the Swedish Monarchs, particularly Gustavus 3rd. though not suited to the natural character. The Swedes labored to be lively, and attained a distraction of being called the [illegible] of the North. p. 122.

Every farm over the whole country has, by law, [illegible] one or more horses and a bed to the post house. They must be on the spot, and if they are all out with travellers, a division of reserve horses is called upon. This slavish institution obliges the peasant to give the use of his property, [illegible] to him, or for less than [illegible] to

Forced horse & manwork & cattle.

ings per English mile. All travel is settled on this basis. It is, however, ruinous to the morals and husbandry of the people. A farmer's man, horse & cart, perhaps at the most pressing season, is taken from him by two, and his grain wasted by lounging & drinking. This is one great cause of the excessive drunkenness of the Swedish peasantry. pp. 138-9.

Drunkenness.

Poverty.

Poverty increasing in the country. p. 152.

Pine bark bread.

Pine-bark bread used. p. 181. in all the rest of the country. New settlers have no other meal, and take it thick but it may be used together. It is acid, too, yet plentifully bittered, it is eatable. The older settlers mix rye meal with it, half & half, and prudent housekeepers, in good circumstances, use it to save their seed corn. [illegible] and [illegible] it tastes strongly of turnips, & gets as hard as a board when kept long. pp. 181-3.

The past house imposition again referred to. p. 205. Again referred to. p. 208.

Priests.

In Sweden, there are 170,000 persons nearly, living by public position, which is about 6% more than those living by trade & manufactures, reckoned at 140,000.

priest-ridden.

The ecclesiastical establishment in Sweden are allowed to read scriptures. But it could do good time that in a population rotten to waste and functionaries, until no sense of perfect is left in them! The people are

trained to obedience, and to consider nothing their own but what is left to them as the stipend [illegible]. The [illegible] the only foundation upon which rest liberty and stability, a sense of independence of property. p. 274.

Must commune before marriage.

Diffusion of education and religious knowledge very general. All can read, almost all write, and more without competent religious instruction, and yet, with very unsatisfactory moral results. Every adult person must be able to read the Scriptures [illegible] communion, and [illegible] the communion to be being permitted to marry, or exercise any act of majority. p. 275.

Learn to read & write.

Statistics show that not one in 1000 is unable to read; the [illegible] confirmed, 96 [illegible], [illegible] settled ships in petty towns, make it clear that the Swedes are an educated people. The statistical returns make it equally clear that a great amount [illegible] crimes. The [illegible] must be worked out in the good reason of the upper [illegible] Across [illegible] the time, [illegible] of the lower. — Their state of restriction & prohibition in regard to the [illegible] of their [illegible], marks out a low moral condition, which even religious knowledge & education cannot elevate. p. 276.

Will much serve.

Reason of the privileged classes.

The Swedish peasant is better lodged & fed than the Scotch, but his property is secured to his own. He has no power of religious dissent. Toleration nominally exists, but a man not baptized & confirmed by a regular clergyman, could

well-fed & lodged.

Property.

[illegible] before marriage. taking office.

way, but office, or service [illegible]. He is in short an outlaw. He has no freedom of action, the passport system or preventing the escape of conscripts, with conscription, is in full force in Sweden. How than can [illegible] be impossible. [illegible] in husbandry are subject by law to corporal chastisement from their masters for negligence. The negligence is not defined, but it is left to the element of the master, who may lawfully beat, if he does not kill or maim, his servant with impunity. The servant may change by giving due warning, his service at the end of 6 months, but has no right of action for personal treatment, and during service, he has no more rights than a slave. Lately a clergyman, secretary to a learned society, was accused of inflicting an indecent flagellation upon a single young woman, one of his flock, for being pregnant. His defence was that [illegible] law, [illegible] an offending servant, and à fortiori, he, the pastor, could [illegible] of his own flock. The civil rights of the class in little superior than those of the serfs. p. 277

wages. Wages for country labor 6d to 13d daily. p. 278.

want of self control. [illegible] ruling government.

It is not in their physical condition but in their moral, — want of self respect, — of self direction — of equal [illegible], under a meddling government, that the mass of the population is demoralized. p. 282.

Laing's Tour in Sweden, in 1838.

Nobility.— Nobility, 13.500. ¹in 222.— p. 287.

[illegible] err in [illegible] conclusion that bad gov-
Bad government. ernment, bad legislation, bad social arrangements, & are the [illegible] agents in human society. That [illegible] and ignorance are but secondary causes, the
drunkenness. effects as well as causes. p. 233.

In Britain, we [illegible] public [illegible]. [illegible] with us is left to the punishment of conscience. Here, lately, a [illegible] was accused of uttering a blas-
Blasphemy. phemous joke about the Virgin Mary, and the case may [illegible] his [illegible], or his liberty or life. From 183[illegible] to 183[illegible], [illegible] persons were condemned to death, or to [illegible]
Punished. for life, for the crime of [illegible] God, or contempt of God. p. 323-4.

Hard swearing common. What we call blasphemy, cursing, swearing, taking the Lords name in vain, is nowhere so general, among all classes, high and low, as in Sweden. In common conversation, you hear the most horrible oaths, as a part of the ordinary phraseology, and these are not punished, as not affecting the established church, or its doctrines. p. 325.

Mockery of the public service of God, here stands first in the second class of crimes. It comes after murder & blasphemy, but before perjury, forgery, or theft. Between 1830 & 1836,

Crimes against the church.

242 persons were condemned to slavery & chains for this crime in Sweden. Who will say that the superstition was established at the Reformation. The Swedish Northern people of the unknown country, very lively, fond of strength, and their bodies, when they changed their religion for a better. p. 326.

Lutheranism.

Old Customs of Courtship.

In many places old local costumes are still retained, and at the guilds, or feasts of the border parishes, at christenings, or at marriages, there is still the pipe and the tabor brought in, in procession, with music, the young women attending, their yellow hair flowing on their shoulders, the master of the house & the priest, who sings up the midst. These matters are arranged as seriously as in the 14th century. Other laws, however, been rapidly passing away since the last peace. p. 368.

Church, a compound of the State.

Its wonderful all but perfect.

In Sweden, there is not merely an union of church & state, the church is a distinct, component portion of the State. It has but one religion, is established by law, & receives no dissent, & no [illegible] called, & [illegible] rule & [illegible]. The church attendance of the people is very [illegible], their schools and [illegible] old churches, their poor well offerings to their pastors & [illegible] are abundant, and yet, no other 3,000,000 of moral beings in Europe, appear to commit so large an amount of

Still, more crime and moral transgressions. The inference is that the moral improvement of the people requires something else.....

Liberty to do wrong.

Man must have liberty even to do wrong, or he is but a puppet, without freedom of action, without merit in what he does, without self approbation, or self respect. p. 428.

The nation is in a state of pupilage, living like soldiers in a regiment, under classes of oligarchies, privileged bodies. p. 430.

Notes of a Traveller,* on the Social and Political State of France, Prussia, Switzerland, Italy, and other Parts of Europe, during the Present Century. By Samuel Laing, Esq. From the 2nd London Edition. Phila. 1846.

*Made in 1841.

Mr. Laing's work on Sweden, was answered by order of the Swedish government, and the answer translated into English and published in London, by Count Piper, the Swedish minister to the British Court, in a pamphlet of 65 pages. The answer is very particular to Mr. Laing's remarks on the moral state of Sweden, & the political union with Norway. Mr. Laing's reply to the pamphlet signed published in the Monthly Chronicle, is reproduced in the Preface to the second edition of his work, in which he confirms his statements! He had said in 1836, that the illegit-

male to the legitimate births in Stockholm, for that year, were 1 to $2\frac{3}{10}$. He now produces the statistics of the same table land in 1838, which shows that there was one illegitimate birth for every 1½ legitimate in that year, and in the Swedish towns, not including Stockholm, the proportion was 1 to 4. p. 25.

Illegitimacy

1 to 4.
2 to 3.

Thus in the year 1838, there were 1 unchaste to every 4 chaste mothers in the small towns, and 2 unchaste for every 3 chaste mothers in the metropolis. p. 26.

The Swedish people are not vicious naturally. No people are so. But they are not treated by their government as men and people. They have, later, indeed, [illegible] in [illegible], and taken from them [illegible] government and its functionaries. By privileged classes, to a people of poor nobility, [illegible] upon taxes. p. 26.

The Swedish pamphlet attributes the immorality of Sweden, which it admits, to drunkenness, & the drunkenness to the spirit of democracy in the constitution, which gives the peasantry the right to distil their own whisky. But [illegible] shows that the Swedish Diet has three chambers, that is, the nobles, the clergy, and of the burgesses, besides that of the peasantry each of which can stop any act passed by the other. p. 27.

Drunkenness.

Laing's Notes of a Traveller, in 1841.

Holland commercial only. The prosperity of Holland, founded upon commerce alone, unsupported by a basis of productive industry, within herself, and among the mass of her own population, fell to the ground. p. 42.

Tradesmen & Belgium. Look in England into the tradesman's parlor, kitchen, garden, stable, way of living, amusements, and modes of gratification. All are in the same taste as the nobleman's: [illegible] similar, the higher than among the middle or lower classes. p. 44.

[illegible] Holland & Belgium. [illegible] 1841, Holland was [illegible] of Europe, [illegible] pauperism which threatened to subvert all social [illegible] established for [illegible] the [illegible] trade of her back country. When Holland & Belgium, after their union in 1821, were recovering from the unsettled idle state in which countries exposed to the agitation & [illegible] war, — the greatest [illegible] of war, — the total population of the two, was 5,[illegible]45,[illegible]5. [illegible] which, [illegible] 1 in [illegible] 12 [illegible], was [illegible] by public charity. p. 48.

England 1 in 8. 1 in 8, when poor rates were under no regulation, was the most that ever received parochial relief in England. p. 48.

Plant men. The first operation in reclaiming land from a state of nature is certainly to plant it with men. p. 49.

Pauper colonies, a failure.

In the poor colonies just mentioned, Holland established a kind system of co-operation & compulsive labor, under discipline, as in a penal work house. In visiting the pauper colony of Wortel, in 1841, I found that not 1 colonist had prospered, so far as to repay his advance. p. 51.

Royal management.

Men, who have acquired their own property & social weight, submit unwillingly to irresponsible royal management. p. 53.

France.

France, a country by the abolition of the patriarchal tenure of land, and of the law of primogeniture, recommencing a state of society, which was extinguished in England by the Norman conquest. p. 63.

Small property discussion.

Indeed within Europe, population that small property, much divided, prove the greatest free source of misery. p. 63.

[illegible] p. 63.

Turnpike.

[illegible] system, [illegible] be a very good system, but it is admitted to be very artificial. p. 66.

How the arable land at present in France, Dupin says, is but little more than in 1789. Yet that the population is increased by about 8,000,000, and in

Contrast [illegible] the tie in of property by the law of succession, that
Spain [illegible] the state of society [illegible] and [illegible]
[illegible] cultivation .... Now, [illegible] additional population
[illegible] fed from the same extent of arable land, if not by superior
[illegible] cultivation of it. p. 73.

Clear!

In the first 8 years after the Peace, France still had
Swaggering soldiers, till 1824. a martial look, — a great camp of disbanded soldiers, swaggering & idling about. p. 76.

French people are better off — [illegible] than in 1789. p. 77.

Subdivision of property, etc., France owes her present prosperity to subdivision of property, etc., which allows no man to be an idlemost. p. 77.

The subject continued to p. 83.

To the agency of Germany. The political power of the state was [illegible] agency is the basis of all social institutions in Germany. p. 83.

After the abolition of hereditary aristocracy in France, [illegible] succeeded to it. [illegible] Civil army [illegible]
Humbug in France. [illegible] in time of social [illegible] the Revolution.
In Germany. In Germany the army [illegible] has
in Germany, produced the same effect. [illegible] been [illegible]

Religion. by functionarism, as a state power, as a binding influence between the people and their governments in the social structure of Europe. The mechanization of all social duties, is incompatible with the development of industry, free agency & public spirit. p. 86.

Functionaries. Population of France in 1836, 31,851,643. - 138,000 offices. [illegible] to every 230 persons, yet the functionaries generally have families. By a fair estimate then, there is 1 functionary family to every 46 families. p. 91.

Private business nothing. In the Continent, all other employments are as nothing in social importance and influence, compared with government employment. p. 94.

No civil liberty. With real political liberty, the French people have as yet no civil liberty, in consequence of the spirit of functionarism, which does all, or dictates all, or interferes with all. p. 97.

Continent without licence. In an instance of the state of the public mind in France, and indeed all over the Continent, on the [illegible] civil liberty of the individual [illegible] police regulation, for the native Frenchman or German to move from place to place, or to exercise in many

countries any kind of trade, profession, or means of living, within his own native land. p. 97.

liberty in chains.

The elector even, going from Paris to his home to vote, was [illegible] to [illegible] a passport, signed by [illegible]. This is liberty in chains. p. 97.

military in civil life.

Spirit of subordination and implicit obedience, which we confine to military service, enters on the continent into civil life. p. 98.

Lives of landed baron.

In France & Prussia, the state, by the system of functionaries stepped into the shoes of the landed baron, in the place of the feudal system. p. [illegible]

Little advance since Louis XIV.

The people of the continent are but little more advanced now in practice as to liberty than they were under Frederick the Great, Louis XIV, or Napoleon. What they understand by liberty, and are clamorous for, is political, not civil liberty, the instrument of liberty without its use. p. [illegible]

Feudal spirit still.

The vassal is now the proprietor, and in France, more or less a legislator, but he is a proprietor [illegible] the rights of property. The old feudal spirit [illegible] in the regenerated governments. p. 100.

Previous to 1800, landed property was, on the greater part of the continent, divided into noble or baronial, and peasant, roturier or not noble holdings. The former class of estates could

only be held by nobility, and had many unjust [illegible] privileges attached to them. These baronial estates, [illegible] in extent, and the peasantry who were born on the land, and serfs of the soil, had a right to their labor every day for the cultivation of the domain; had civil and criminal jurisdiction over them in the baronial court of the state; had a [illegible] judge, a baronial prison on the estate to incarcerate them, and a bailiff to flog them for neglect of work, or other baronial offences. These slaves were allowed cottages with land on the outskirts of the estate, and cultivated their own patches in the hours or days, when their labor was not required on the barony lands. They had their own [illegible], the surgeon, the school master, the state judge, who was appointed by the proprietor as patron both of church & court, and who was selected out of the number of examined jurists, who were capable for these civil judge lights. This is, for the system is not abolished altogether, the great object of the numerous bodies of law students, at the German Universities. p. 103.

Continental peasant of the 1800 a slave.

If the serf deserted, he was brought back by the military, who searched the roads & the inns & [illegible] the serfs of [illegible] the [illegible] lands, there on [illegible] return, had [illegible] imprisoned, and in great [illegible] in the black hole, which existed on every baronial estate &

Serfs.

flogged. The condition of these born serfs was very similar to that of the negro slaves on a West India estate, during the apprentices' term. This system was in full vigor up to the beginning of the present century. Not merely in remote corners of the continent but in the centre of her civilization, all round Hamburg & Lubeck, Holstein, Slesvig, Hanover, Brunswick, and all over Prussia. [illegible] were Bauern-Hacje, or peasant estates, held of some baron, paying as quit rent so many days' labor in the week. p.104.

Prevailed in Prussia &c.

Feudal system.

The government of Prussia has cast loose the absolute kingly power from its steel anchor, the feudal system, and is now clinging to the buoy of functionarism. p.106.

functionarism.

The American cement is totally wanting in Prussia. The uncontrolled freedom of industry, property, mind & person. p.110.

No cement.

Take the working years of a man to be from 22 to 62, we have 14,600 days. Out of these a Prussian gives 1487 days to military service, or 10 per cent of his operative life. p.111.

% of army.

In Prussia, says the statistical writer, Saxony, 1 in 57, in Prussia 1 in 80, in Austria 1 in 115, in France 1 in 150, and in England 1 in 320, of the population are in the army. p.116.

In European armies.

No man in the Prussian army not entered at a cadet

[illegible] the ranks. has risen from the ranks since the Peace. p. 125.

The freedom of the city, or town, as burgess, which in Berlin costs 30 thalers, is all that is now required to entitle any one to carry on any trade, or handicraft in it. Young men, when their three years of military service is complete, set up as masters in their trade, marry, and in a few years, their families come on the public. This comes not from freedom of trade but from the attempt to unite it with the Prussian military system. p. 251.

trade & military service.

There have been many plans to check marriage in Switzerland, among the poor, but not the rich, and in Prussia, Prof. Reinhold, in 1836, proposed the [illegible] to prevent the increase of population. It is only in Ireland or in Sardinia that the law of prospect of being able to marry at 28 or 30, than at 18, is not [illegible] at 18. In Russia, the Emperor Nicholas, in 1830, fixed the marriageable ages at 16 for females & 18 for males.

Switzerland

Russia

marriage.

The value of estates here was fixed by the number of serfs. p. 321.

Feudalization going on in our manufacturing, social economy. The master manufacturer employing a

thousand hands deals only with 50 or 60 put vassals, who hire and pay all the hands. A strike is often brought about by these middle men, and is of little use to the workmen. These middle men are the equivalent of the feudal barons. Factory-bosses.-

Factory bosses
" feudal barons.

Observations on the Social and Political State of the Foreign People in 1843 & 1844; being the Second Part of the Notes of a Traveller. By Samuel Laing, Esq. London. 1850.

Emigration.

Emigration by sea actually increases the very evil it proposes to remove. For every 30 families who emigrate, there 30 [illegible] to be brought into the married state, that is, into full employment, full wages, &c. p. 55.

Yet no prudent working man, who has saved 30, 40 200 or 300 pounds emigrate to one of these flash colonies, intended to [illegible] land companies, because he hears land is cheap & good. He has not the means to pay for religion, education, law, & police. All these expenses must be paid out of the savings. He inherits nothing, as in the mother country, in the shape of roads, bridges, churches, schools, poor, road houses & such useful work. pp. 84 5.

Flash colonies. & avoided.

People do not go to a colony to be done for like children

in leading strings, or soldiers in barracks, or paupers in workhouses. [illegible] to a [illegible], it has something to say, in proportion to their means.....

Canada & U.S. The difference between Canada and the United States shows the difference between a people being done for, and doing for themselves, in emigration & colonizing.

p. 66.

England is now just that stage in its social condition in which a people can throw off agricultural colonies from the main body. Two hundred years ago, when the peopling of the old American colonies was going on, the great mass of the population of the mother-country was essentially agricultural; but every working man could turn his hand to various kinds of work, as well as to the plough.

1640. England agricultural. " now artisan

This state of society continues still in the U. S., & is the main reason why their settlers in the back woods are more handy, skilfull, better for themselves, & thrive better than the man from this country, who has been all his life engaged in one branch of industry.

better colonists.

p. 67.

From 1600 to 1800, the female emigrant made the clothing. All linen & cloth was made in the family... That former state was more favourable to emigration than our present more advanced social condition, where seems to be a stage in the progress of nations at which they can throw off swarms with most success.

Female work.

Swarms.

Eng. low wages. The English, emigration from a larger scale and cautious, as it is a disadvantage compared to German emigrants, who can make the backwoods as good a home as they have left. p.71

Eng. respect. Irish Ch. Landlords. The influence of personal wants, and the respect which it indicates will produce in the Highlands some effect towards a improvement of the same class of the Irish people. p.72.

Germany. Emigration takes off about 100,000 from Germany, principally to the U. S. mostly peasants of some property. Heavy taxation, military service, religious persecution of Lutherans & Calvinists, by the late King of Prussia, in Silesia, the cause. German governments, at first, opposed emigration, alarmed at the numbers going, but opposition increased the desire to go. Where the paternal system was tolerated, with paternal action, the people could not be prevented from secretly slipping over the frontier with their property & value, by a quiet understanding with their neighbors. p.73.

now free. Of late, the right to emigrate has been fully conceded. p.74.

Irish tenants. The 562,000 small farms in Ireland, having 2,800,000 living on them, who are tenants, not proprietors. p.82.

Property has made the French peasant proprietor, a man of grave & serious deportment, no longer frivolous. All over the

State everything. continent, whatever the government, the spirit of self-government is equally dormant among the people. The state does everything. p.116.

Corvée French revolution. It was the corvée, without allowance of wages or food, applied to the construction of magnificent roads, which alienated the agricultural class and mainly led to the French Revolution. p.117.

Hayti. The favorite article of furniture in these ancient [illegible] is a huge, rural bee press, reaching from floor to ceiling. [This is the chief article of furniture in Hayti, at the present day.]

Emigration. Emigration to our colonies, the great means proposed at present for draining off our superabundant population. p. 155.

Peasants. The social state of Prussia up to the peace of Tilsit in 1807 was like that of the rest of Germany, essentially feudal. The same system existed in the North of Holland until a late period. The nobles alone in the greater part of Germany could purchase or hold land free from such servitudes. The peasant could fly to the free cities, such as Hamburg, Frankfort, Lubec, where after a year & day's residence, he was entitled to protection. p.187.

Free cities.

Marriage. In Holstein, the peasant cannot marry without leave from his superior. The art of Government, says Voltaire, is to make two thirds of the nation pay all it can to the other third. p. 184.

2/3 pay 1/3. Voltaire.

Fr. functionaries. At the expulsion of Louis Philippe, the civil functionaries of France numbered 807,080. p. 185.

In 1818, in the city of Hanover, a person named Rodeke, for 13 months imprisoned, was put to the torture, and so tortured to compel his guilt, after the hands had become deadfully swollen on the third year, what was his guilt? It was stealing a cow. This fact illustrates the abject state of the people in the most enlightened part of Germany, 30 years ago. p. 194.

Torture, Germany 1818.

Students in Scotland more in proportion than in Prussia yet make no plots. No doubt they harangue & rave over whiskey toddy about rights of man, talk politics & even treason sometimes, and would all be Brutuses if they could find Cæsars, as well as the cads at the German Universities. But the Scotch students can not be tried as a German Burschenschaft do. The Scotch students are obliged to conduct themselves like other people, and for offences are tried like other people. But in Germany, the Senate or Council of each University has a total ascendency over the Students. They are amenable only to their academi

German Universities.

" Courts & Senates.

cal judges, who have powers independent of the ordinary civil courts, to arrest, try, fine & imprison, and there is a special prison in each University. pp. 220-21.

The alumni of German universities, have had no opportunity of understanding the business of their fellow citizens, of the Philister, as the students & functionaries call those who have not been Burschen or students functionaries. This is the root of much misgovernment in Germany. It is lay Jesuitism. p. 223.

Philisters

lay Jesuitism.

Continental shop keepers ask more than they intend to take. The English do not. p. 267.

1 price.
2 prices.

Continental people may adopt English forms of government but they will still retain the character which ages of feudality and military government have impressed on them. p. 269.

Eng. forms.

feudal character.

In France, Switzerland, Belgium, and the constitutional states in Germany, people call themselves free, but they live and act under a system of interference in every man's movements, precisely as in Austria & Prussia, who have no constitutions, nor political liberty. p. 270.

think themselves free but is not.

The continental man cannot go to the next town without a pass port, cannot remove his domicile, cannot apply his labor without permission, and regulation. p. 270-1.

Pass port.

permissions.

A German, or a Frenchman will prove to you that you have no liberty in England, as with them, where universal suffrage prevails, but ask him to take a jaunt with you to Marseilles & pass to Lyons, and he will say "Oh! we must get passports, and have them signed, and counter signed, to be viséed at every town we stop at, and we must get it done now before the Bureaux are shut." p. 271.

Universal suffrage

passports.

An English traveller in France & Germany sees crowds of tradesmen and peasants, who have been at the Fair, standing for hours to have their papers examined or signed. pp. 271 2.

traders & peasants

passports.

Town taxes on market articles based at the town rates, in a rough way keep alive bitterness between town & country. p. 274.

Marketing

town rates.

The country girls basket is opened to see if it contains bread, cheese, beer &c, subject to town dues. The peasants load of hay is half unloaded, or probed with an iron rod. Town & cities, from the Aristocracy the ones, have less influence on the civilization of the country. p. 274.

In Germany, since 1848, agitation was confined to towns. In Hamburg, Berlin, Munich, Dresden, Frankfort &c &c, literature, refinement, wealth & their pleasures abound, but in the country outside, the people are the same as for ages back. p. 276.

Agitation, towns.

country, stationary.

Deity. In every age & country, religion has been taught in the infancy of the human mind by the representation of material objects. Deity has had no other origin than the natural deficiency of language.

p. 386.

Tyrol. The fine race of people must be a mixed breed. The country, since the 4th century, has been invaded, encamped, or settled in, by the armies of many countries.

Tyrol. It is perhaps to this mixture of races that the fine physical development may be ascribed. So far the breed appears to be the law of improvement in man as well as cattle.

Crossing of breeds. The Celt and the German become decrepit in proportion to their purity. The Lapander is probably the most ancient, and certainly the least mixed of the European races.

p. 387.

The law of improvement. The New Englanders are the least mixed, or rather have mixed the least, since coming to America, of any people in it. But then they are the result of a mixture which took place before they came. The law of improvement perhaps is a mixture the cross of breeds but the result is not, not while the process is going on, but when the amalgamation has become complete. Then after a very long time, perhaps there should be a new crossing, or an infusion of new blood.

U.S. will not last. The politicians who predict that some day the United States will fall asunder into separate kingdoms, or republics, have not considered how closely they are united by their

national interests. It is not more probable than that England should some day resolve itself into the Saxon Heptarchy.
p. 522-3.

Observations on the Social and Political State of Denmark, and the Duchies of Slesvick & Holstein, in 1851: being the Second Series of the Notes on the Social and Political State of the European People. By Samuel Laing, Esq. London, 1852.

More unemployed on the Continent than in Eng.

On the continent, owing partly to the uncertainty which the Land Wehr system, or the conscription throws into the disposal of a young man's time, until his military service is completed, the number unemployed and not bred to any occupation is much greater than with us. p. 35.

Remains of feudality.

Holstein. Very large Estates with barony courts, & much of the feudal rights and privileges of which we have still the skeleton in our manors, manorial courts, game rights &c. p. 42.

Motto
Considering the cultivated, most important.

The condition of the laboring man, his lodging, clothing, food, wages, in different countries, is the most important subject the traveller can inquire into. p. 46.

3 meals Happiness.

Much of human happiness is served out three times a day in breakfast, dinner & supper. p. 46.

Laing - Denmark in 1861.

Kiel, 1861. On two farms, at some distance from the town, and from each other, the writer and his friend visited, with the farmer, and at times at the table, got the following diet. The principal articles will be remarked at the distinction of meals or days. Thin butter milk soup and barley groats. Bread of black unsifted rye meal. Sunday dinner, lard soup, with dumplings, potatoes, or peas in it. Barley-boiled milk, with bacon in summer, in winter with salt meat. Egg pancakes, a piece of bacon in each. Peaze pudding with bacon, dumplings & milk, with bacon and potatoes fried in butter. Farm servant, 3/4 of a pound of butter per week, woman servant no weekly butter, but about 6s 8d sterling a year, as butter money. Sunday dinner, thin peat soup, potatoes mashed with lard. Sunday, milk soup, and dumplings, with square lumps of lard in suet. Yellow peas with lard and fresh meat. Sunday, pudding, or eggs pancakes with fresh meat. p. 47 8.

Farm servants diet.

Diet at an inn at Kiel. The wages of men servants thus boarded, is about £3 6s 8d. Female servants 2s a year; the cooper, the upper dairy woman, wagon & house keeper, get something more, the cowherds, swineherds, herds & horse maids something less. All the hours of work from 6 to 6. with 2 hours rest. p. 48.

The varied diet. Many of the class built farm houses, and gave a better food to apprentices and servants, with the proprietor, and have by [illegible] legal, not

have to deliver work daily below standard wages. p. 47.

The peasant proprietor's house is entered by a large folding door in the gable, through which the long wagon, with its two horses, enters. On one side, stand the horses & cattle, on the other are the dwelling rooms, and stowed above, is the winter fodder. p. 50.

The wide wagon way goes through the house, & through a folding door opposite.

Before 1788.

The Tofteboer [illegible] Brunswick & Hanover, tied to the business of great farms. They usually held them on lease of 9 years. These extensive farms are the domains of the nobles, which before 1788, were cultivated by serfs, then ad scripti glebae, who were bound to work every day without wages on the main farm of the feudal lord, having allotted land for themselves on the side-kick. The lord could imprison, flog and [illegible] them, if they deserted, but was obliged to support them in old age. p. 53.

About 1788, the serfs of the [illegible] began to work [illegible] serfdom. The serfs would enlist in the army, or desert to the free towns of Germany & Holland, leaving none but the old & infirm to work, without wages. Count Bernstoff was among the first to emancipate his serfs, and pay them wages. Some valued the

Laing. Denmark in 1851.

Serfs p. 54. serfs labor, land and cottage, and converted the a- [illegible] into a bit upon the little farm, upon which the laborer lived. In some cases, the labor was paid as rent, or feu duty, but government interfered to fix the amount and the number of days per week and hours per day. p. 54.

Professional monopoly. School masters, lawyers, surgeons, apothecary, midwives, farriers, & shop keepers have a monopoly from government of their trades in their respective districts. p. 60.

Sons & grandsons of dukes, princes. In Germany, all the younger sons of dukes are called princes and their children also. Thence the swarm of German princes that buzz about the court of St. James. p. 68.

good kind. In some districts of Kent, here, (Coombe) the succession is good kind primo — the youngest or the eldest son succeeds to the land. This custom has been frequently ascribed to the ancient jus primae noctis, which rendered it doubtful if such children were legitimate, whether the eldest or a younger or the daughter of primogeniture was the son of the husband.

jus primae noctis. The real origin probably was that the laborer on the land was but a serf in social position, very far below the man at arms, therefore the elder son, throw the burden of land holding upon the younger. p. 140.

Schleswig-Holstein are still in a semi-feudal state, although the serfs are liberated, the nobles ordered to pay, and the legislative assembly have taken their place. The struggle now is, on the part of the legislature, to get the small peasant holders land, or to get such power over the peasants that he shall be made to work, on the sharecropping condition, or be ejected. p. 147.

Semi-feudalism.

Tax in Holstein, Slesvick and Lauenburg, consequence partly of serfdom in the personal state was not completed in the beginning of this century. p. 154.

Serfdom abolished 1800.

Frisi was once of much greater extent in population than it is now. Here follows an account of submersions, swallowing up towns in the cultivated coast. In 1634, a violent storm raised a heavy sea, broke away the sea dykes, 15,000 persons are supposed to have perished, and 22 parishes, churches with the surrounding villages, were destroyed. To some calamity like this must be ascribed the singular fact in the 8th century, of the single agent leaving a better soil and country here, for subsistence across the ocean in England. We, their descendants, seek homes in America and Australia, impelled like our ancestors, by distress, discontent, poverty, or adventure. p. 162.

1634. Great inundation. Induces the Anglo-Saxons to England.

Distress drives us to America.

It is characteristic of imbecile administration, either in nations or families, that it insists where it ought to negotiate

not
Inexcusable. and prejudice where it ought to insist. p.167.

The Danish service was formerly notorious for the barbarities of its discipline. I saw 50 years ago a lieutenant, beat a recruit with his cane, while the under officer held the culprit's pig tail aside, that it might not be tormented by the blows. Previous to the grand review, soldiers sat up all night, that their powdered hair might not be disordered by lying down. The slightest want of uniformity in pig tails or side locks, brought down severe punishment. Suicide was frequent, and officers as well as men, were bastinaded. The late King, Christian VII, abolished corporal punishment at the direction of officers. p.175.

Brutal Slave-trade from grand wives, soldiers sat up all night, that their powdered hair might not be disordered by lying down. The slightest want of uniformity in pig tails or side locks, brought down severe punishment. Suicide was frequent, and officers as well as men, were bastinaded. The late King, Christian VII, abolished corporal punishment at the direction of officers. p.175.

Pig tails 50 years ago, Suicide,

Travels in Some Parts of North America, in the Years 1804, 1805 & 1806. By Robert Tuteliff. Phila. 1812.

1st Month. 10th. 1806. — At Marion. Del. H. B. gave the author an account of a case of torture, which had taken place at Dover. Del. The master of a black slave boy, tied a piece of leather, & charged the boy with stealing it, which he denied. In order to extort a confession, he tied the boy up by the hands, a considerable height from the ground, & fastened a heavy fence rail

Slave boy tied. Del.

to his feet. In this position the master whipped the boy so cruelly that he died, upon which his own son confessed the theft, but such was the protection which Del. afforded these people [illegible] the contest, but the master escaped unpunished, as is commonly the case when slaves are murdered by their masters. p. 178.

Slave boy with iron collar.

In crossing Schuylkill, I passed a negro boy of about 12, with an iron collar locked round his neck, and from each side of it an iron bar passed on his head. He was [illegible] but the boy was dressed in a hat, long shirt & trowsers, without hat, shoes or stockings. Soon after met a man who told me the boy was his, that he often ran away and this was his method to prevent him. p. 181.

Long cotton trowsers.

At Merion Meeting, a number of Friends in the upper seats, were without coats & stockings, having long cotton trowsers, which came down to their shoe tops. p. 240.

P. W. Successful cotton factory & paper mill.

P. W. about 1788, being then 12 yrs. old, left Merion with his father, to work in the factory. He arrived at Philad. & the time was paid to Henry Drinker, a benevolent Quaker, who, at the boy's request, remitted him, before his time was up, to go apprentice to a paper maker. Sutcliff found him in 1805, the proprietor of a large factory mill at Merion. I never was in a finer mill, managed with more neatness and order. He has a wife & family of healthy looking children. p. 250.

1806. 4th, month, 22nd. Was informed of the death of John Rutland, of Dublin, Md., a young man of 23. He had been an ardent friend of the blacks, and the means of rescuing many from slavery. A gang of unprincipled men from Georgia, 1806. & trafficking sometime since went into the Delaware State & kidnapped, and carried off whole families of free negroes in the night. They take them on board small vessels in the neighboring creeks, and so ship them off to Georgia and the Carolinas, where they are sold to planters. I saw son several of these blacks rescued by J. Rutland, whose brother in law, Henry Bowman had procured for them situations in Ohio. At long age, a mother with 7 children, was there carried off in the dead of night. J. Rutland, after rolling nearly 1500 miles, rescued the whole family scattered as they were among several Georgia planters, and brought them safe home to their native place.

Fearon's Sketches of America. London. 1819.

Landed at New York, Aug. 6th, 1817. A great number were on the wharf looking at us and our vessel. — Many of them were of the laboring class ... among them, no beggars. 1817. Dwellings Interspersed for several of the mercantile & richer classes, unusual. large, stone, lofty; houses were universal. pp. 5 6.

[Such last remark shows that lessence still prevailed in England.]

The young men are tall, thin and solemn. Their dress
trowsers, is universally trowsers. p. 10.

If in England we saw in the "Times", such advertisement
as the following, we should conclude that freedom from the
venal restraint exists in words. The first is from the
N.Y. Daily Advertiser; the second, paper not noted.

"To be sold, A Servant woman acquainted with both
city and country business, about 30 years of age, and
sold because she wishes to change her place. Enquire at
this office, or at 71 Cherry Street."

For Sale or Hire,
"A likely young Man Servant, sober, honest and well
behaved. He could get out of a store and
or gentleman's waiter, being accustomed to both. Enquire
at this office." p. 156.

"Helps" as servants.

Writing in regard to Mr. De Witt's place at Kirkhill, he says
"Servants, let me here observe, are called "helps". If you call
them servants, they will leave you without notice." p. 86
[I had supposed that this use of the word "helps", was confined to New England, in 1817.]

American emigrate to Canada.

A lieutenant of the U.S. Army, just arrived from the Michigan
lakes, told Faron there was a considerable emigration from
western New York to Canada. Asked why, he said, "the

king gives them land for nothing, a present of their farming tools, and they have no taxes to pay." p. 83.

Dutch emigrant ship.

On his way to Boston in the Sound. "A Dutch ship sailed by full of passengers. This did not please the American passengers on board the steamer. A farmer said, "[illegible] fellow employed in the States. What a jag there is lately come, I guess they are starving in the old countries, but I guess I should like one of them if he was a plasterer." p. 92.

the feeling against emigrants was general. p. 92.

No country seats!

The genuine country seat has not yet made its appearance in the four States which I have seen. N. Y. N. J. R. I. Conn. p. 97.

Boston, not a city, 1817. Why?

Boston numbers 40,000, is not a city, the inhabitants fear the powers vested in the corporation would be injurious to their liberties. p. 104.

N. E. Before.

[illegible]

George Washington Adams takes Fearon, to see his grandfather, the ex president, at Quincy. Sept. 1817. The ex pres-

Pres. Adams' dinner. " Indian pudding, first course.

ident is a handsome old gentleman of 84. Upon the present occasion, the minister, [I suppose the Revd. Peter Whitney, who preached Mrs. Adams' funeral sermon the year following.] was of the dinner party. First course, a pudding made of Indian corn, molasses & butter. Second course, veal, bacon, mutton, potatoes, cabbages, carrots & Indian beans. Madeira wine, of which each drank the [illegible]. [illegible]

Kearon visited a redemptioner vessel, attracted by the following advertisement.

The Passengers.

Redemptioner advertisement. " [illegible]

[illegible] to engage themselves for a limited time, to defray the expences of their passage, consist of persons of the following occupations, besides women & children, viz. 13 farmers, 3 bakers, 2 butchers, 8 weavers, 3 taylors, 1 gardener, 3 masons, 1 mill sawyer, 1 whitesmith, 2 shoe makers, 3 cabinet makers, 1 coal [illegible], 1 [illegible], 1 [illegible], 1 [illegible], 1 [illegible], 1 [illegible], 1 brewer, 1 locksmith. – Apply on board of the Bubona, [illegible] wharf, [illegible], or to [illegible], No. 38, South Wharves. [Oct. 2nd 1817.]

[It will be seen that there were 45 adult male redemptioners besides women & children, also redemptioners, as such passengers, if any, who had paid their expences, had [illegible] left the vessel on arrival.]

Sickness. " Kearon speaks of the sight on board, which the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] the ship a living sepulchre. The captain was an American.

Fearon's companion asked if there were any shoemakers on board. The captain called in the Dutch language for them, and the poor fellows came running up, no doubt anticipating relief from their loathsome dungeon. Their rags perfumed the air, some were without shirts, others had them, coarse as ticking cloth. The deck was filthy. Such is the [illegible] that they crammed into one of these vessels, 500 passengers, 80 [illegible] on the passage. The men about 80, women 70, boys 60 dollars.

Of 500, 81 die.

Price $60 to 80.

An interesting occurrence is said to have taken place the first day in connection with the German redemptioners. A gentleman of this city wanted an old couple to take care of his house. A man, his wife and daughter were offered to him for sale. He purchased them. They proved to be his father, his mother and his sister. pp. 148 151.

Man buys father mother

Near Mc Conelsville, he came up with 20 family [illegible] from Massa. Jersey & Connecticut. The New Englanders were evidently better fitted for the fatigues of removal, than the Jerseyman & Marylanders. I thought I could even discover the effects of residing in free & slave states. The New Englanders are ignorant of slavery, and have been obliged to labor with their own hands. They are therefore more enterprising, enlightened and better suited to cultivate the wilderness,

New England

from first place holding neighbors. The N. C. women were walking before their wagons; while the others rode, or lagged behind. pp. 188 7.

At Louisville, Ken. they drink, swear and gamble a great deal. I have not seen the practice of gouging, though I have no doubt it exists. One of their diversions is gander pulling. They tie a live gander by a pole, with the neck greased and he, who succeeds, rides fast at full gallop, on pulling off the head carries the prize. p. 145.

[There were few holidays in N. England, and those incidental to elections, a town meeting, some local and few trainings. The amusements then were never brutal, and consisted mostly in playing at ball, at checkers, at mock

[Stanz.

naturalization Law.

No friend of liberty can advocate some at least of Eaton's Naturalization Law. p. 360.

Weld's Travels through the States of North America, &c. in 1795, 1796, & 1797. 2 vols. London. 1799.

Second Extract. For first extract, see, MS. Notes on Emigration. Vol. 2nd. pp. 83-4.

[Weld gives an account of Lancaster C. H. on March, 1796.

"The inhabitants of this town, as well as those of Lancaster and the adjacent counties, consist principally of Celts, Germans, Emigrants, and their descendents".

[It seems by this that the Irish are originally set

Ind. these counties, had be already been supplanted by the Germans.]

Views of Society & Manners in America; in a Series of Letters from that Land, to a Friend in England, during the Year 1818, 1819 & 1820. By Frances Wright. 2nd. Ed. London. 1822.

p. [illegible]

[illegible] Atlantic cities, [illegible] most greatly

Intercourse. [illegible] is [illegible], the [illegible] we [illegible] but [illegible] Irish

" stragglers [illegible] from the ground [illegible] emigrants passed

" the St. Lawrence, into the St. Lawrence. The Hibernian Societies of

N.Y. & Phila. provide some of the former with work & sup-

Hibernian port others. p. 428.

Societies.

[illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] temple, but

Other [illegible] [illegible] is not to [illegible] that the [illegible]

[illegible] p. [illegible]

Wealthy Germans have exerted themselves to place the

German trade [of importing servants] under such regulations as

Settlers. [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible], and the emigrants

[illegible] [illegible]. The [illegible] [illegible] as

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

be retained three or a month after arrival. [illegible] U.S. — [illegible] which the law [illegible] them. [illegible] more than the [illegible] against, by the way of Canada, and is [illegible] to no small inconvenience [illegible] expence for their passage. p. 431.

Canadian emigrants.

The four British are often [illegible] to be useful and be [illegible] to [illegible]. The British are [illegible] tion, and resemble the German peasantry. [illegible] British [illegible] often [illegible] the Colonies, p. [illegible]

British [illegible] Germans.

The "Bulone", mentioned by [illegible], was a British boat, having British owners and [illegible] to an Englishman. The ships employed are [illegible] as [illegible] are chiefly Dutch. p. 432.

The Bulone English.

The German [illegible], sent by the King of the Netherlands for the purpose of procuring further [illegible] for the reception of poor Germans in Penna. [illegible] as follows, 1817-8. "It is usually Dutch, but occasionally American, English, Swedish & Russian vessels which transport emigrants to America. The ships are [illegible] and [illegible] seaworthy, and the masters [illegible] & [illegible]. The American ships are the best, their berths better, and the responsibility greater. The [illegible] by the law passed by Congress was directed more against foreign than American vessels." p. 433.

Am. vessels the best.

Dalrymple's
G. B. & Ireland

The Darien Expedition, taken from the Encyclopedia Brittanica.

Of the rise, progress & catastrophe of this ill-fated expedition, Sir John Dalrymple, in the second vol. of his "Memoirs of Great Britain & Ireland", has given an interesting account. The projector & leader was a clergyman named Paterson, who having a strong desire to see foreign countries, made the pretence of converting the Indians, the means of indulging it. In America, he became acquainted with Dampier & Wafer, but he obtained much more knowledge from old buccaneers who told with joy how they had passed & repassed from sea to sea, sometimes hundreds together, driving strings of mules, loaded with plunder. Paterson satisfied himself that on the Isthmus was a tract, running from the Atlantic to the Pacific, which the Spaniards had never possessed, that its lands were fertile, and its harbors were good. He saw at [illegible] the shortening of distances, the drawing of nations nearer to each other, the preservation of lives, and the saving in freight & time. Here, he determined to plant a colony. On his return to London, he made the acquaintance of Fletcher of Saltoun, who presented him to the Marquis of Tweeddale, then minister for Scotland. Through him, Paterson soon gained interest in favor of his colony, and in June, 1695, a charter was procured for creating a trading company to Africa and the new world, with power to plant

Paterson
projector
Dampier
Wafer,
old buccaneers,
said
better effect.
Fletcher.
charter

colonies by consent of the inhabitants in places not possessed by [illegible] colonies. The scheme became popular. Nobility, centry, merchants and people every where subscribed. 400,000 in Scotland, £400,000 were subscribed, although there were not above £800,000 cash, then in the Kingdom. The company built six ships, from 36 to 60 guns and engaged 1200 men for the colony, [illegible] were younger sons of noble families, with 60 officers, disbanded at the peace, who took with them their private men, mostly raised on their estates, and mostly Highlanders.

Scheme popular.

£200,000.

1200 men.

Neighboring nations saw with surprise the poorest kingdom [illegible] sail for the new world. It sailed July 26th 1698, and arrived in two months at Darien. The first publication of the colony was to publish a declaration of freedom of trade and religion to all nations. But the Dutch East India Company were opposed to the settlement, and [illegible] from England to the W. I. & American Colonies, against giving assistance, a [illegible] with the Scots. The Scotch expecting supplies from these colonies had not provided with them sufficient provision. [illegible] the [illegible] of the colonists [illegible] the settlement.

Sailed July 26th 1698.

Dutch E. I. Co. opposed to colony & no supplies, perpetual war.

[illegible] another colony of 1300. The vessel was lost, many died, and the rest arrived at different times, disappointed, when they heard the fate of their predecessors. The General Assem

1300 more.

4 ministers sent.

The C. of the Church of Scotland sent out with the second colony 4 ministers, with orders to erect a Presbytery, & establish pure church discipline. The ministers and the officers building houses for themselves, with their own hands, wanting other help, yet they complained [illegible] for them. Not receiving the attention claimed from the higher, the ministers paid court to the lower ranks, and thus sowed divisions. They exhausted the spirits of the people by long sermons of 4 or 5 hours, even relieving each other by preaching alternately, and they converted the number [illegible] completely [illegible] God [illegible].

They [illegible] the settlement, however, and on excuse of doing so, wrote bitter letters against the colonists & colony.

cause dissensions.

The colony was now attacked by the Spaniards, whose ministers to England had already protested against the settlement. Capt. Campbell of Cawdor, who was hang from his own estate, whom he had commanded [illegible] Cawdor, was the [illegible] which caused the second [illegible]. [illegible] the [illegible], to attack & defeated the Spaniards [illegible], but the colony, being besieged by the Spanish fleet off the harbor, and cut off from provisions, and even from the well, which supplied them with water, after [illegible] were obliged to capitulate and depart from the colony.

But they were so weak as to be unable to raise their anchors without assistance from the Spaniards. Their ships were so leaky, and badly manned, that they were obliged to make in distress into different ports of Spain & England. One ship was seized & detained. Another was lost on the bar of Charlestown, and not more than 30 of the sailors ever lived to reach their native country.

Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions, by Charles Mackay. 2 vols. Phila. 1850.

The Mississippi Scheme of John Law.

[1720.] The value of shares in the Louisiana, or Mississippi stock, had risen very rapidly, and people were willing to believe the tales that had once been told of the immense wealth of that country. And yet on the one hand to restore the public confidence in the Mississippi project, & to this purpose, a general examination of all the low lodgings in Paris was made by order of the government. Upwards of 6000 of the poor wretches of the population were impressed, as if in time of war, and were crowded with rogues & knaves to be embarked for New Orleans, to work in the gold mines alleged to abound there. They were marched two abreast through the streets with their pikes & muskets, and then put off in small detachments to the ships to be shipped across the sea. Two thirds of them never reached their destination, dispersed themselves over the country, sold their tools & what they could get, and returned to their old courses of life. In

6000 poor wretches of Paris sent to Miss.

less than 3 weeks afterwards, one half of them were to be found again in Paris. The manoeuvre, however, caused a startling advance in Mississippi stock. Many persons of superabundant credulity believed that operations had begun in earnest in the mines of Louisiana, and that gold & silver ingots would again be found in France. Vol. 1. p. 144.

Histoire de la Louisiane, par Charles Gayarré. Nouvelle Orleans. 1846.

Vol. II

p. [illegible] the [illegible] Empire he should place on the lands which had been granted to him, 1500 Germans. Till other persons to whom grants had been made were also to furnish a certain number of colonists [illegible]. This plan (épreuve) did not succeed. Some peasants were in fact sent out to Louisiana by the large proprietors, but the greater part of them fell victims to the climate, and the rest, not being looked after by their absent employers, worked to little advantage. Vol. 1. p. 166.

1500 Germans.

Want of women.

The colonists above all complaining of the want of women, the Regent intrusted the Ursuline Nuns under her, the Sisters Louise and Bergère, to take out to Louisiana some girls brought up at the Foundling Hospital, [élevées à l'Hôpital General de Paris] who sent.

were to go there voluntarily and to be under the special care of surveillance [illegible] the State [illegible], until they should be established [illegible] married, and in the mean time not to be allowed to marry. Respectable colonists, complaining also of the character of the recruits and companions sent to them, the King issued the following ordinance.

Complaints of a number of colonists.

King of France that the Company of India is made a cultivator of the lands of Louisiana, where besides there is a great number of families, both foreign and French, he hopes shortly to establish Company in the great way the Company has awarded to different grants, not that by soldiers or people of poor, or even vagabonds should be condemned to serve in the colony because they are idle, and more likely to corrupt other colonists than to work .... the King orders that henceforth there shall be no more vagabonds or criminals sent to Louisiana. 1721.

Vol. 1. p. 181.

80 bad girls sent out.

In Feb. 1721, 80 girls from a House of Correction in Paris, called La Salpêtrière, arrived at Louisiana. It appears that the despatch of these women was considered as contrary to the good order, which should, the transportation thither of vagabonds and women of evil life. p. 181.

200

In March, 1721, 200 Germans arrived. They were sent by Law to people his grants of land. Amongst this shipment of Germans was a woman of whom much has been said in the memoirs of the time.

was said that she was the girl of the Czarowitz, Alexis Petrowitz, son of Peter, the Great. It is certain that she much resembled this princess. The rumor was that to escape the bad treatment of her husband she had resorted to a feigned death, and that she left her tomb to escape to a foreign country. This woman married at Louisiana a certain Chevalier D'Aubant, who had been in France at St. Cloud. After a long residence at Lou. he returned to France, and to the Ile of Bourbon whither he was sent with the rank of major. Becoming a widow in 1744, she returned to Paris with one daughter and died there in great poverty in 1771. I - 182.

Daughter in law of Peter the Great.

After Law fled from France, his grants of land had been neglected. The greater part of his German colonists, being left to themselves, went down to New Orleans, hoping to find a passage to Europe. The government, either unable or unwilling to furnish them a passage, gave them grants of land on the two banks of the river about 20 miles from New Orleans. This was the origin of the establishment, which is still known as the German Coast, (Côte des Allemands.) and which is divided into two parishes, those of St. Charles & St. Jean Baptiste. These industrious men raised all sorts of vegetables with which they supplied the New Orleans market, [illegible] their little fleet went down the river, and on Sundays in [illegible] they sold their cargoes of vegetables,

Germans abandoned, not furnished to leave.

Settle German Coast.

same and daing produce. They have long since disappeared. Their land is covered with great plantations, which employ almost as many slaves as the King then could count subjects in the whole State. I p. 174.

Histoire de la Louisiane. Par M. Barbé Marbois. Paris. 1829.

There is yet to be seen, says the Père Charlevoix, in 1722, opposite the village of Kappas, [Allakapas.] the sad remains of the Law grant! It is there that should have been sent the 6000 Germans, who had been raised in the Palatinate, and it is a great pity that they should not have come. There is not in Louisiana any place more suitable to raise all sorts of grain and pulse for cattle.... The people that were sent out, again at Crozat's, are miserable wretches, known from France by their crimes, or their bad conduct, real or supposed, or who, to escape their creditors, entered into the service to be employed on the grants. They expected the country cut as a place of exile, cared nothing for the prosperity of a colony of which they were members in spite of themselves. I p. 174.

The Mississippi Bubble. A Memoir of John Law. By Adolphe Thiers, author of the Consulate & Empire. Translated by Frank S. Poole. New York. 1857.

Law promptly took steps towards the establishment project

ed in America. Vessels were armed, troops embarked, vagabonds prostitutes & vagabonds collected in order to send them to [illegible]. Grants of land were made and Law rallied, even from the interior of Germany, farmers who went to Brest to embark. In order to make as much as possible out of the Mississippi, it was attempted to [illegible] the [illegible] of the English, and create some [illegible] establishments, [illegible] them [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] and a [illegible] of [illegible] Indian chiefs were taken from Paris to the [illegible] of the kingdom. [St. Simon.] p. 76.

A Collection of 30,000 Names of German & Other Immigrants, by P. D. Kapp. Annsburgh, 1856.

Several thousand left Germany in 1716 & 1717, under the [illegible] of the [illegible] Law, who instead of having them settled in [illegible] on the banks of the Mississippi, had them landed on the [illegible] of Dibois, near Mobile. Here they were exposed [illegible] for 3 years. Not one [illegible] the promised Paradise. 2000 were consigned to the grave. The [illegible] survivors, about 800, finally settled them [illegible] on the Mississippi in 1722, some 30 or 40 miles above New Orleans. Law's agents, had engaged 12,000 Germans in Paris. The [illegible] of the last pile of those of Dibois, numbered about [illegible]. [illegible] you see

were landed near Dibois near Mobile.

authorities for the "several thousand" leaving Germany, nor for the "2000" who died. The extracts above given from Lamarre & others do not seem to corroborate Kuppis statement in regard to numbers.] p. XIX.

Statement respecting the Rise of Lord Selkirk's Settlement on the Red River in North America, its Destruction in 1815 & 1816, and the Massacre of Gov. Semple and his Party. &c. London. 1817.

For extracts from the Earl of Selkirk's Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland, with a View of the Causes & Probable Consequences of Emigration &c. 1806, see Vol. II - pp. 119 et seq. Ms. Notes on Emigration.

Selkirk indices on grounds by to Govt.

The Earl of Selkirk first drew the public attention to the subject of Emigration in 1806. Since that time, a marked change has taken place in the minds of individuals, and in the conduct of Government, which has of late years, afforded very considerable profit to the emigrants & to our colonies. These extracts, relative to Scotland, are not but so much to passed to Scotland or the U. S. p. 2.

Grant of land.

The Earl of Selkirk, having in 1811, obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company, a grant of land within the territories conferred upon them by their Charter, proceeded, in conjunction with some of the prin

ciphal objects of the conveyance, to establish agricultural settlers upon the lands he had so obtained. p. 2.

agrees to send annually. By the terms of his grant, he was bound for so many years, [illegible] of persons to Hudson's Bay. p. 124.

Miles Macdonnell, was appointed by the H.B. Co. to be Gov. Macdonnell of the district of Assiniboia, within which the Settlement was to [illegible] to the Gov. superintend the colony. p. 3.

Location. The settlement was located on the Red River, lat. 50° North, long. 97° W. of London. In Sept. 1814, the total number of set-200 in 1814 tlers and labourers, amounted to about 200. p. 3.

[illegible] Red R. once obtained a firm footing, the natives would be remain friendly. made slaves of by the colonists. But the Indians continued friendly. p. 6.

H.B.Co. The real enemies of the Red R. Colony were the [illegible] Company [illegible] Montreal. p. 7. They [illegible] that "the existence of the Colony was detrimental to the fur trade", and had planned at their annual meeting in the summer of 1811, to break up the Earl of Selkirk's colony. p. 10. and Duncan Cameron & Alex. McDonell, appear to have been selected to carry out their plans.

Cameron visited the settlement, ingratiated himself with the set-

Canadas there, tempted them with money, a promise of free passage of to Montreal & 200 A. of land each if they would remove to Canada. The labourers & contracted servants at the settlement (generally under engagement for 3 yrs' service) were also seduced by similar means, with the additional lure of high wages & great encouragement in the Canadas. Many deserted before the expiration of their contracts, and carried with them the tools &c. which had been provided for them. p. 16.

the contracted servants to desert.

N.W. Co. employs Half Breeds.

The N. W. Co. were resolved to adopt no half measures in putting a stop to colonization, & Cameron was obliged to have recourse to hostility. For this purpose he ~~hired~~ bribed some of the Half Breeds, & while MacDonald was temporarily absent, seized the canon & arms which the Earl had provided for the protection of the settlement. On Mc Donald's return he was arrested by the officers of the N. W. Co. on some frivolous charge & carried to Montreal, for trial, which never took place. 26.

Having got possession of the head of the colony, Cameron ordered the remaining settlers to leave. They were frequently fired upon, the farm house belonging to the settlement was pillaged, several of the cattle & labourers were forcibly seized & detained as prisoners, horses were stolen &c. On the 22nd. of June, 1815, another attack was made upon the governor's house, and finding themselves unable to defend themselves, the settlers agreed to leave in two days, which they did, escorted & protected by the friendly Indians, & established themselves for the time on Lake Winnipeg.

22nd June 1815.

N. W. Co. burn the buildings.

The day after their departure, a party of their enemies, consisting of a vessel of the N. W. Co. stole, [illegible] to the spot, and burnt all the buildings to the ground. pp. 27-28.

Destruction of Selkirk's Colony in 1815 16.

Cameron's success praised.

The N.W. Co. expressed undisguised admiration of Cameron's success, and the Half-breeds were rewarded for their services.

N.W. Co. vow to break up N.W. Settlement.

It was to be to last that from the first knowledge of the Earl of Selkirk's intention to establish a colony at Red River, the N.W. Co. of Canada determined to foil it, even by bloodshed if the means failed. p. 3.

Selkirk comes to Can. 1815.

The Earl of Selkirk, having heard of threats of disturbance in his colony, lost no time in applying to the Government for aid & protection for them, & sailed himself for America in the fall of 1815. p. 39.

Red R. settlement.

In the meantime, as soon as the ruffians, who had been assembled from various quarters to attack them, had dispersed, a part of these settlers returned to Red River, followed by a considerable reinforcement of people, recently arrived from Europe, and on Oct. 1815, they were again living on the best terms with the Indians in their neighborhood and at peace. p. 46.

Gov. of Canada was N.W. Co.

Sir Gordon Drummond, the Governor of Canada, was supposed to be in favor of the N.W. Co, and as Selkirk could claim no military protection for his colony, he was induced to strengthen it by the addition of about 100 men & officers who had not been discharged at the close of the war and who preferred to go to the R. R. Settlement, than to remain in Canada. p. 60

no probs. for Red R.

Selkirk takes 100 discharged soldiers.

These were not as soldiers, but as private individuals; & on the same terms as the others, having lands assigned them, & if they had not time to remove, a free passage back to Montreal. p. 60.

With this party, Selkirk set out in the spring of 1816, for the Red River, having despatched before him a messenger, to the colonists, who was waylaid & robbed. When Selkirk reached [illegible] he found [illegible] the colony had been again destroyed & Temple the Governor of the Hudsons Bay Company's territories, killed. p. 61.

1816. Temple. Gov. not. colony 2 d. The Colony in the Spring of 1816, consisting of [illegible] planted [illegible], not a number of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], required [illegible]. Gov. Temple, a mild, pleasing, just & honorable man, had been nominated by the Hudsons Bay Co. to the chief [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], but had [illegible] in 1815, & also upon him he imposed [illegible], and in the spring of 1816, arrived at the Red R. [illegible]. p. 71.

May 12th. settlers Marked. On the 12th of May, a party of Selkirk's colonists were attacked and taken prisoners by a band of 50 Half-breeds, servants & clerks to the N. W. Co. The [illegible] live [illegible] in the neighborhood were told by Cameron & Mc Donell, that the Red R. settlers were spoiling their land, and if they would not leave them [illegible] the N. W. Co. would [illegible] the settlers [illegible], the ground should be [illegible] with their blood. [illegible] of these [illegible] [illegible] them. p. 72, 73.

Again on 19th. In the afternoon of the 19th of June, 1816, the settlement was attacked by a band of 70 Half-breeds, then commanded by Mc Donell, prudently remaining behind. Gov. Temple, with about 28 men went out to meet them. The Gov, and 20 others were killed. 15 of those killed were [illegible]

Semple & 3 of the settlers were Italians from Ireland, & from the Isle
estimated. men & 3 from the North of Scotland. The Gov. after
[illegible] for being having his thigh broken, was shot in the breast
Ireland re by a half breed. p. 84.
[illegible].

According to the statement of Mr. Sutherland, who was taken prisoner, the enemy consisted of 62 persons, the
62 against greater part of whom were the contracted servants &
&c. clerks of the N. W. Co. They had one killed & one wounded. p. 85.

The remaining settlers, labourers and others belonging to the colony, in all nearly 200, were obliged to leave the settlement, and they embarked
Selkirk embark in boats for Hudson's Bay. Of these people, no
for Hudson's certain intelligence has since been received in this
Bay. country. An inventory of the property was taken
Property before they left, and the whole was delivered up to
given up to the agents of the N. W. Co. p. 87.
N. W. Co.

The documents & depositions in the Appendix show, that from the first knowledge of an intention to form a
[illegible] colony upon the Red River, the N. W. Co. determined to prevent it; that to the N. W. Co. the Red R. colony was
summary. [illegible] objectionable; they denied the right of the Hudson's Bay Co. or Lord Selkirk, to any part
N. W. Co. of the territory ceded to him, of which their predeces-
the enemy sors & themselves had been in occupancy for at least
of Red R. a century; [116.] that the N. W. Co. instigated & bribed
Settlement. the Indians who committed the hostilities, & is alone responsible for them.

A Short History of the English People. By J. R. Green, M.A. New York. 1876.

Second Extract. [See pp. 27-40. this book for first extract from Green.]

Enclosures. 1471-1509. The riots against "inclosures", of which we first hear in the time of Henry VI. and which became a constant nation of the Tudor period, are indications not only of a constant strife going on in every quarter between the land owner and the smaller peasant class, but of a mass of social discontent which was continually growing [illegible] the proprietary classes the repression of the poor was a question of life or death. The land owner and the merchant were ready, as they have been ready in all ages of the world, to surrender freedom into the hands of the one power which could protect them from [illegible] the land to be [illegible]. It was the selfish cry of the wealthier land owners that England owed the Statutes of Labourers, with their terrible heritage of a pauper class. p. 14

Statute of Labourers.

Pauper class.

Reign of Henry VII. [illegible] strength which had been given to the New Monarchy by the revolution which had taken place in the art of war. The introduction of gunpowder had ruined feudalism. The [illegible] footman. Although gunpowder had been in use as early as Crecy, it was not till the accession of the House of Lancaster that it was really brought into effective employment as a military resource. But the revolution in warfare was immediate.

p. 312.

Infantry.

Green's "Short History of the English People."

1507 1520. - Thomas More. The whole system of society
The E. Thos. around him seemed to him "nothing but a conspiracy of
the rich against the poor." "The rich are ever striving to pur-
chase anything further from the laborious, of the poorly
learned, and even by public law, so that the wrong
Rich vs poor. done to poor men is a wrong that turns from them
the State whose most humble subject would rather suffer
wrong in vain than seek redress by means of the law of the
State." "They devise every means by which they may in the first place secure to themselves what they have amassed by wrong, and then take to their own use a profit at the lowest possible price, the work of the poor. And so soon as the rich decide on adopting these devices — the name of the public, then they become law." The result was the wretched existence, to which the labor-
ing class was doomed, "a life so wretched that even a beast's life seems enviable." p. 329.

1513 1551 1515 1551. The Sheep Question. The steady rise in
the price of wool was at this period giving a fresh im-
petus to the sheep farming which had been going
rise in price of wool, on for the last 100 years, to the throwing together of the smaller holdings, and the introduction of sheep
farming on a vast scale. ... The smaller tenants were dispossessed, and the bitterness of ejection was increased
by the iniquitous means, which were often employed to
enclosure evictions bring it about. "The farmers," says More, "now get rid
migration of other by fraud, or force, or tired out with repeated

enough with parting with their property. In this way it comes to pass that these poor wretches, in households greater in number than in wealth, (for arable farming requires many hands, while one shepherd or herdsman will suffice for a sheep farm) all these minute [illegible] drift without knowing where to go." The sale of their scanty household stuff drove them to wander homeless abroad, to be thrown into prisons as vagabonds, to beg and to steal. pp. 336 f.

1540-1552. The real value of the religious revolution of the 16th century to mankind lay, not in the substitution of one creed for another, but in the new spirit of inquiry, the new freedom of thought & discussion, which were awakened during the process of change. p. 366.

16th century
freedom of thought.

1558. In one act of her civil administration, Elizabeth showed the boldness & originality of a great ruler: for the opening of her reign saw her face the social difficulties which had so long impeded English progress, & the issue of a commission of inquiry which ended in the [illegible] of the poor by the system of poor laws. p. 380.

Elizabeth.
Poor Laws.

1562 1562 The disuse of salt-fish and the greater consumption of meat marked the improvement which was taking place among the agricultural classes. Their rough & wattled farm houses were being superseded by dwellings of brick & stone. Pewter was displacing the wooden furniture of the earlier generation. Chimneys were introduced about the beginning of

1562
salt fish disused.
Food.

Chimneys | Chimneys were coming into use. Pillows, which had been before despised
Cushions. | by the farmer and trader, as fit only for "women in
" | child-bed," were now in general use. Carpets superseded
Pillows & carpets. | the filthy flooring of rushes, &c. &c. pp. 377 &c.

Puritanism | Of the popular sentiment of Puritanism — and great as were its faults, Puritanism may fairly claim to be
grandeur of | the first political system which recognized the grandeur
the people | of the people — Shakespeare knew nothing... In
" | play after play, the sneers at the rabble, only echo the general temper of the Re-
Shakespeare |
Rabble. | naissance. p. 406.

Puritans | Exalted among the group of the Puritans, was the new conception of social equality. Their common call, their common brotherhood in Christ, annihilated in the
" | mind of the Puritans that overpowering sense of social
social | distinction which characterized the age of Elizabeth. The
equality. | meanest peasant felt himself ennobled as a child of God, & the proudest noble recognized a spiritual equality in the poorest "saint". p. 458.

Puritans | The dissolution of the Parliament of 1629 marked the darkest hour of Protestantism, whether in England or in the world at large... The Puritans in this hour of despair, turned, to use Cromwell's words in a far later,
New England. | grander sense than that which he gave to them, they "turned to the New World to redress the balance of the Old."

It was during the year of [illegible] that the third Parliament of Charles [illegible] the great Puritan emigration founded the States of New England. p.495

Windebank. 1640. Windebank, the Secretary of State, with the Chancellor Finch, fled in terror over sea. p.524.

"The two great treaties by which Mazarin ended the Thirty Years' War — the treaty of Westphalia and the treaty of the Pyrenees — left the Empire [illegible] and Spain powerless. From that moment, indeed, Spain had sunk into a second-rate power. Robbed of the big power of her wealth by the independence of Holland, robbed of her power by the revolt of Portugal, her infantry annihilated by Condé in his victory of Rocroi, her fleet ruined by the Dutch, her best blood buried in the Indies, the energy of her people destroyed by the suppression of all liberty, civil or religious, her intellectual life crushed by the Inquisition, her industry [illegible] by the expulsion of the Moors, her financial [illegible] by the [illegible] of the Jews, the wonderful stock under which the record had raised it to empire of the world, lay helpless or exhausted under Philip the Fourth. The aim of Louis from 1661, the year when he really became master of France, was, above all, to complete the ruin of Spain. p.653.

Decline of Spain.

1689-1694 - Ireland. By the military treaties, those of Jacobite soldiers who would were permitted to follow him to France; and 10,000 men, the whole of his force, chose

exile rather than live in a land where all hope of national freedom was lost. When the wild cry of the women who stood watching their departure of was hushed, the silence of death settled down upon Ireland. For a hundred years the country remained at peace, but the peace was a peace of despair. The most terrible legal tyranny under which a nation has ever groaned avenged the rising under Tyrconnell. The conquered people, in Swift's bitter words of contempt, became "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to their conquerors; but till the very eve of the French Revolution, Ireland ceased to be a source of terror and anxiety to England. p. 671.

Condition of Ireland, after 1691.

1709. — The expulsion of Harley and St. John from the Ministry, had given the Whigs, leaders of a more vigorous party, [illegible] power. [illegible] brought into play a new engine of political attack whose powers soon made themselves felt, viz. the Examiner and the crowd of periodicals or pamphlets which followed in its train, which spent themselves on the abuse of the war or of its generals. [illegible] the session of 1712, the Tory majority of the House of Commons passed, in the teeth of the Tory peers, Marlborough was dismissed from his command, charged with peculation, and condemned as guilty by a vote of the House of Commons. He at once withdrew from England, and with his withdrawal all opposition to the peace was at an end. p. 670 1.

Rise of Tory Policy.

Downfall of Tory Ministry.

Green's "Short History of the English People."

1660 to 1760. "The [illegible] in the face of ruthless laws which only testified to the terror of society — laws which made it a capital crime to cut down a cherry tree, and which strung up so young thieves of a morning in front of Newgate, while the introduction of gin gave a new impetus to drunkenness." p. 707.

England.

"capital crime to cut down cherry tree."

Hannah More.

By writings and by her own personal example Hannah More won the sympathy of England to the poverty & crime of the agricultural laborer. p. 710.

7 yrs. War.

The alliance between England & Prussia in 1765 gave the signal for the Seven-Years' War. p. 716.

1688.

England.

½ moorland & fen.

Between the first & last years of the 18th century a fourth part of England was reclaimed from waste and brought under tillage. At the Revolution of 1688 more than half the kingdom was believed to consist of moorland and forest and fen; and vast commons & wastes covered the greater part of the England south of the Humber. But the numerous inclosure bills which began with the reign of George the second, and especially marked that of his successor, changed the whole face of the country. Ten thousand square miles of untilled land have been added under their sanction to the area of cultivation; while in the tillage and husbandry the production had been more than trebled by the advance of agriculture which began with the labors of Arthur Young & introduction of the system of large farms by Mr. Coke of Norfolk, and the development of scientific tillage in the valley of Tweed. p. 722.

Inclosure bills, Geo. 2nd.

Arthur Young.

1,[illegible] 17[illegible] 17[illegible] state of France. If its political position was compared with that of most of the countries around it, France stood high. Its government was less oppressive and more influenced by public opinion. Nor was the peasantry, seemed to English eyes, they were far above the peasants of Germany or Spain. A literary class had sprung up which devoted itself with wonderful brilliancy to popularizing the ideas of social & political reform, and it turned from English writers, and in the case of Montesquieu, little from personal contact with English life. Everywhere the new force of intelligence jostled roughly with the social forms with which it found itself in contact. The philosopher denounced the tyranny of the priesthood. The peasant grumbled at the lords right to judge him in his courts, and to exact feudal services from him. The country gentry rebelled against their exclusion from public life and from the government of the country, and public opinion joined France & city stood the barrier in its contest for liberty.

p. 166.

Ireland under the Georges. The history of Ireland, from the conquest to the 3rd, up to this time, is one which no Englishman can recall without shame. Since the surrender of Limerick every Catholic Irishman, & there were 6 Catholics to every Protestant, had been treated as a stranger & foreigner in his own country. The House of Lords, the House of Commons & the whole administration of government & Ireland.

Ireland under the Georges.

Peasantry above Sp. & France.

Effect

Contact grumble at feudal services.

France.

ment were closed against Catholics. In all secular political matters the native Catholics, in other words the immense majority of the people of Ireland, were simply hewers of wood and drawers of water to their Protestant masters, who still looked on them as aliens in their own country, who [illegible] of Anglo-Saxon extraction, and who regarded the name of "Irishman" as an insult. ... The Protestants, who formed the dregs of the Wicklow settlers, were shut out by law from all civil, military and municipal offices. ... For more than a century Ireland was the most governed country in Europe. p. 11.

name of "Irishman" an insult.

It is indeed from the fatal years which lie between the Peace of Amiens and Waterloo that we must date that war of classes, that social severance between rich and poor, between employers and employed, which still forms the great difficulty of English politics. p. 787.

Even manufactures, though destined in the long run to benefit the laboring classes, seemed at first rather to oppress them. In the winter of 1811 the terrible pressure of this transition from handicraft to machinery was seen in the Luddite, a machine breaking riot which broke out over the Midland counties, and which, were only suppressed by military force. Nor was this, though at its worst, a time of low wages kept down at an artificially low figure by the rapid increase of population, the war in the prime of youth, which brought wealth to the landowner and the farmer, brought

1811

Luddite, a machine breaking riot,

"

wealth to us,

provisions to the poor.

finance and both to the poor, for England was cut off by the war from the rest corn fields of the Continent & of America, which now always relieve from their abundance the results of a bad harvest. Scarcity was followed by a terrible pauperization of the laboring classes.

tax rate rose 50 p.c.

The amount of the poor rate rose 50 per ct. and with the increase of poverty followed the inevitable result, the increase of crime. pp. 787-90.

1839. People's Charter.

In 1830, the country still suffered from bad crops: the discontent of the poorer classes grew rife in 1839 & notes demands for the "People's Charter" including universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual Parliaments, equal electoral districts, the abolition of all property qualification for members, and payment for their services. p. 799.

Colonial Records.

Vol. I.

At a Councill held at Phila. ye 20th. 1st. Mo. 1683. Wm. Penn. Proprietor Present.

1683 bond 2d a copy of hogs & 56,

The petition of Nath. Allen was read, showing that he had sold a Servt. to Henry Bowman, for Six hundred weight of hogs, viz. a Bolter Allen, & 56 pounds Sterl. which ye said Bowman ought to pay ye said Petitioner, &c. p. 63.

Council, held 24th 3rd month 1683. It was agreed to issue out a Proclamation to the effect that no person should deal with

any servant, either for themselves or others. p. 74.

29th. 6th Month, 1683. Wm. Rosp.r & Gov.r The Gov.r put ye Question whether a Proclamation were not convenient to be put forth for to Impower Masters to Chastise their Servants, and to punish any yt shall Inveigle any Servant to go from his Master. Spry Unanimously agreed & Ordered it accordingly. p. 78.

Masters may correct their servants.

24th of [illegible] Thos. Pickering, Sam.l Bowing, Thomas [illegible] Robert Eaton, a Servant, being convicted of contempt, the Court sentenced ye former [illegible] 40, 40, respectively, and "Robert [illegible] the Court havening also Considered thy Ingenuity in Confessing the Truth of Matters, and that thou art a Servant, hath only sentenced thee to sitt an hour in the Stocks to morrow morning." p. 88.

Countenancing servants.

Stocks.

School of Arts & Sciences.

17th day of ye 11th Month, 1683. Proposed that care be Taken about the Learning & Instruction of Youth, & Settle a School of Arts & Sciences. p. 93.

Entertainments & rewards.

26th 5th Mo. 1684. Robert Ferrill being brought before the Gov. & Council for Selling rum to the Indians and Other people, and towards Entertaining Three Persons Dead, with a reprimand from the Gov.r p. 117.

7th. 2nd. Month, 1685. A Bill Concerning runaway servants was read a first reading. Past Nemine Contradicente. p. 127.

2d. of 5th Mo. 1685. – Several Indians made Complaint to ye Gov.r of abuses they received from ye servants of Jasper Harmer, at ye house Jasper Harmer Mentioned, Upt. Trial made in ye Matter

Servants drunk, then lying with their Wives, and of their beating both [illegible] their wives. p. 147.

Indians. 28th 8th Mo. 1685. John Grant appeared with ye Servants of Jasper Farmer, according to a Summons bearing date ye 27th Inst. but ye Indians being drunk in ye woods, and the Servants declaring they were afraid to goe [illegible] to ye Business was Ended, ye Council ordered they should Stay in town till ye next day, when ye Indians were to be in towne to receive pay for the land bought of them. p. 147.

Mr. Cox after a rent. 4th 5th. Mo. 1685. Wm. Haigue Request ye Secretary [illegible] a [illegible] Co. from East Jersie, after a second [illegible] Mr. John White, Which it was Lost, might Give some pass [illegible] thereby to pass this Province & Territories, the Secretary Indorsed & Sealed it with ye Seal of ye Province. p. 147.

Boy sold whose father had paid his passage. 12th, 3rd. Mo. 1688. The Petition of Moses Stout was read Complaining against John Gay for Selling a Servant who now works at ye hoaw in ye Lower Counties, and with whom ye said John Gay had of his father in London Gunnies to teach him ye trade of a Carpenter, besides ye father paid for ye said Servants passage to Pennsilvania.

Ordered that John Gay appear at this board to answer ye Complaint abte going, ye next second day, noth. p. 222.

N. Nothing is said of this case in the Minutes of the next Council.

Vol. II

1705. 11th. X bre. Dec. 1705. A Bill arising from the Board, intituled an Act to prevent the Importation of Indian Slaves, was read, and ordered to be sent to the Assembly for their Concurrence. p. 213

Negroes, Nagt. Importation of Indian Slaves, passed.

12th. Jan. 1705, The following laws were passed, among many others. An Act for the Trial of Negroes. and An Act to prevent the Importation of Indian Slaves. p. 231.

1707. 2 Negroes. burglars. sentenced to death.

25th Feb. 1707. A petition was presented from Mr. Keighton and Grace, praying that Jony, a Negro Slave of Keighton, & Quasby, a negro slave of Grace, being condemned to death for burglary, as their masters would have no satisfaction in case of their execution, may be spared & the owners suffered to inflict Corporal Punishment & transport them. This was granted & the Punishment was as follows, They shall be led from the Market place up ye Second St. & down thro the front street to ye Bridge, with their arms extended & tied to a pole across their Necks, a Cart goes before them, and that they shall be stript stript to ye waist as high as ye pole, upon the bare back & shoulders; this punishment shall be repeated on 3 market days successively; in the meantime they shall lie in Irons, in the prison, at the Owners Charge, untill they have such an Opportunity as shall best please them for transportation; All which being duly performed, the Sentence of Death shall be entirely remitted. pp. 405-6.

1706 7. Naturalization of Germans.

Jan. 14th. 1706. In pursuance of an order of Council, dated ye 15th May, 1706, relating to ye Naturalization of the High Germans; the said Germans presented to the Board a Draught

of a Bill for their Naturalization, prepared as they say, by the Attorneys Genl. which they prayed might be Recommended to the House to be passed into an act, which was read, & the design thereof being approved of, it was ordered that the matter should be accordingly recommended to the House.

p. 480.

III.

Duty on Convicts. May 3rd, 1722. Sir Wm. Keith, Gov. Some Amendments were proposed by the Governor, with the Advice of the Council, to the Bill entitled ~~an~~ Act for imposing a Duty on Persons convicted of heinous Crimes, and imported into this Province as Servants or otherwise. p. 162.

Law passed May 5, 1722. May 5th, 1722. "An Act for imposing a Duty on Persons convicted of heinous Crimes & imported into this Province," was passed into a Law. p. 162.

1724. Petition for lands. Feb. 10th, 1724 5. Then a Petition from divers Palatines was read, praying that the Gov. & Council would recommend their Petition to the consideration of the Proprietors Agents, & that they might be allowed to purchase Lands in this Province &c. The Petition is referred to Mr. Logan, & the rest of the Proprietors Agents to consider thereof, & to Report their opinions to the Board concerning the same. p. 241.

1728 Indians complain of Palatines. June 5th, 1728. Pat. Gordon, Lt. Gov. An Indian chief addressed the vast audience that had assembled, and said he was troubled to see the Christians settle on Lands that the Indians had never been paid for.

Mr. Logan replied that he with the other Commissioners, viz. Ed. Hill and Isaac Norris now present at the Board were two, would never consent that any settlement should be made on Lands where the Indians are seated, that these lands wh were settled wholly against their wills, and contrary to their Knowledge.

At the same Council, was presented the following Petition from the Palatines.

Your Petitioners, being Natives of Germany, about 15 yrs ago, were by the Great Goodness & Royal Bounty of Queen Anne, relieved from the hardships which they then suffered in Europe, and were transported into the Colony of N. Y. where they settled. But their family being increasing, & being in that Govt. confined to the scanty allowance of 10 A. of Land to each family, whereon they could not well subsist, your Petitioners being informed of the kind reception which their Countrymen formerly met with in the Province of Pa. and hoping they might with what substance they had, acquire larger Settlements in that Province, did last year leave their Settlements in N. Y. Govt. & came with their families into this Province, where upon their arrival they applied themselves to Hie Ex. the Gov. who of his Great Goodness permitted them to inhabit upon Swatara Creek, being the farthest inhabited part of the Province N. W. from Phila. on Condition that they should make full Satisfaction to the Propr.s for such Lands as should be allotted them. And now we understand that some Gentlemen, Agents of the Proprietors have a Mind to impose a Land in this Province, wherefore we humbly pray, that upon paying the usual prices for lands at that distance from Phila. we may have right

Palatines Petition

to buy
land
a Little
before.

and titles for such lands as we shall buy, & by your authority, we may be freed from the demands of the Indians & that part of the Country who pretend a right thereto. We humbly inform your Ex. & Council, that there are 50 families more who if they may be admitted upon the same conditions are desirous to come & settle with us.

Logan & Keith quarrel.

Logan replied by accusing Keith of being the authority by which these foreigners had been encouraged to invade these rights to the manifest injury of the Proprietor, and to the great abuse of the Indians, who at that very time was seated there, and had their complaint to those Proprietors. And it now hoped that such of this Audience as had been solicitous to have the Indians complain of bad Usage might go away satisfied. p. 324-4.

Bill for regulating Negroes & Servants rejected.

May 10th. 1721. The following Bills were passed into Laws, viz. Laying a Duty on Negroes, imported into this Province, and Laying a Duty on Negroes & Servants &c. imported into this Province. p. 300.

Good character of the German settlers.

Jan. 16th. 1736. A Petition of several Germans of Lancaster Co. for naturalization being presented, Gr. Gordon remarks that they have generally a good character for honest & industrious men settlers, as deserves the Esteem of this Govt. He is therefore inclined to have the Bill passed. p. 374.

13th Feb. 1729-30. A Law was passed imposing a Duty on Persons convicted of heinous Crimes and be found poor & impotent Persons being imported into the Province of Penna. p. 380.

Vol. IV.

1737 Intrusion of Germans. May 12th, 1737. – A Petition of sundry Germans and other Foreigners, now inhabitants of this Province, praying that they may be vested the Benefit of Natural born subjects of Great Britain by an Act of Naturalization. p. 331.

Vol V.

Sept. 21st. 1747. The Ship Lydia being this morning arrived from London at Philadelphia, Doctor Graeme & Doctor Bond are Ordered to visit said Ship and report the state of the health of the People on board. p. 112.

Pest House. Contagious Fever. 11th Sept. 1747. The Ship Francis & Elizabeth, with Palatines, having arrived from Rotterdam, and the passengers labouring under an infectious fever, which was supposed to be infectious, the Gov. had ordered an Examination of the Pest House, which the masters & Doctors having examined, they reported that the House was in good Condition, & had ye need of some Bedstead Furniture, & suitable Apartments, the sick could be put in by wealth fifteen each, Whereupon it was ordered that the Pest House be put in order, and the Capt. of the Ship, was directed to send to it all the sick and to keep the well on board, and not to suffer any Persons to go near them except the Doctors, Necessary Nurses & Servants. p. 410.

Bill to prevent the great crowding in Vessel.

17th, Dec. 1754. An act for preventing the Importation of Convicts & other Passengers in too great numbers in any one Vessel, was passed into a Law. p. 428. vol. V.

Vol. VI.

1754. No patients must come within 1 mile of town.

13th Nov. 1754. All Captains & Owners of Palatine Vessels now in Harbour, ordered not to land any Bedding & Sick Patients within a mile of the City, the well & the sick to be separated, & no ship to come to any Wharf till every thing was unloaded, & the Vessel well cleaned.

The reason of the above order was that a Sickness had been spreading in the Town owing to the unhealthiness of the Vessels and the Palatine passengers that had arrived during the year. p. 157.

Sick Palatines belonging to Dan. Denoyel.

15th Nov. 1754. Lt. Col. Cook said that in the House of Philip Burcort, near the reformed Church, are a considerable number of Palatines, belonging to Daniel Denoyel, in a weak & diseased state, & concluded in consult a Term, that they were about Putrefaction, & in a high degree of Putrefaction, and one of the Lads are now ill of putrid Fevers. They were ordered to be removed which was done.

Lt. Col. Cook also said that these observations shew that the people on board most Passenger Ships do sooner or later undergo a disease from foul air. In regard to a Ship lately arrived, we were told that she had not lost above two Freights in the Passage, and finding the rest of the Company healthy, we had no reason to

Sick freight.

question the truth of the information. Shortly after our arrival, we Capt. Mate, Merchant, Physician & most of the Publicans were taken ill of Fever, which however, we did not find to be contagious.

Sick concealed.

From the great Number that have dyed we are certain the same thing has happened in other vessels, that is, the People, if we become sick since we sailed them, so that the sick have been wholly concealed, of the latter we have no doubt, for we are informed that one of the ships has been on Purpose of being a Ground, out that she was not sick only to have time to take out the Sick. pp. 170 70.

Irish Servants

those lately discharged from jails.

Lds Bond & Graeme further report that two Persons who came in a Vessel of Capt. Simpson that put Cowick & Sounds from Cuba, died of a fever, & yet was read from very lately from the Time of their leaving Ireland. He knows that many of the Indented Servants on board were such Persons as had been lately discharged from the Gaols. ... The true State of the Publicans ships is so often concealed from the Physician & his Mates in such a manner that it is impossible to discover it from any thing they can see on board. pp. 174-5.

28th. July, 1755. A Letter from the Justices of Berks Co. concerning the R. Catholics there, was brought by the Express, & read, viz

Berks Co. R. Caths.

Sir: As all our Protestant Inhabitants are very uneasy at the behaviour of the Roman Caths, who are very numerous in this Co. some of whom show great joy at the bad News lately come from the Army, ... we beg your Honour to enable us by some

legal authority to disarm, or otherwise to disable the Savages from doing any Injury to other People who are not of their Principles. . . The R. Cs. have stolen a very magnificent chapel, & have erected, and now possess, [illegible] are in league with the Indians & with our Enemies at Fort Du Quesne. The Irish very prime in their Houses, against which the Scots are not insured, & are subject to a Massacre whenever the Savages are ready. &c. &c.

Magnificent chapel.

" in league with Frch & Indns.

Signed Henry Harry, Jos Read, Wm Bird, Jonas Seely, & Conrad Weiser. p. 503.

" arms.

Aug. 15th, 1755. The Members of the Council, upon further inquiry into the above matter, apprehend that there is very little danger to be feared, and very little foundation for that representation. p. 534.

No danger from Caths.

24th Sept. 1755. Gov. Morris informs the Council of having received the words of the Governor, that the Roman Catholics have a priestly Power over their Parishioners, & that there is a State of War, which he fears will alienate them from the Govt & render all Foreigners among us indifferent as to the success of the French attempts upon this continent. p. 620.

Governor suspected by Pr. Cath.

The Assembly, on Sept. 29th, in a Message to the Governor, deny the above accusation. p. 631.

Vol. VII.

Sept. 6th, 1756. The Gov. (Denny) laid before the Council

a Letter from Mr. Mercer, informing him that the minds of the People were extreamly set agt. the Proprietaries & the Govr. by Insinuations thrown out in Lowrie's New Paper, particularly in their No. 19 & 29 Aug., wherein was a Suggestion as if the Hostilities of the Indians were owing to Proprietary Covetousness in not paying them to their satisfaction for their Lands &c. p. 245

Lowrie's News Paper.

" insinuations.

Lt. Col. Bouquet writes the Govr. of the Success of his Expedition against the Indians, and complains that newspapers such a Licentiousness is Incompatible with the Public Service. p. 338

newspapers.

Vol. IX.

Tuesday, 2nd. Mr. 1768. Fred. Stump, aged 33, a native of Germantown, & John Bonnetter, his servant, 19 years age, born in Germany, were executed, on charge of murdering 10 Indians, & put in jail at Carlisle, from which, in the morning of the 29th. Jan. 1768, 70 or 80 armed men carried them off in triumph. pp. 441 488.

Man & servant murder 10 Indians.

Vol. X.

Redstone, Mr. 25. 1771. - Germans settling in Redstone Co. petition the Council that a Magistrate be appointed for that Locality, there being none within 30 miles. p. 8.

Germans want a magistrate.

29th. March 1773. The Gov. John Penn returned the Bill for prohibiting the Importation of Slaves into this Government, with a verbal message that he could not agree to pass it into a Law. p. 244.

Bill prohibiting importation of slaves.

In Committee of Safety, Jan. 24, 1776. Joseph Lee, of this City, Black Smith, having informed this Committee that Peter Cribs, his apprentice Lad, is enlisted on the Continental service by Lt. Collier, of the Magaw's Battalion, and it appearing that the said Joseph has paid a consideration for the time of the said apprentice, the Commanding Officer of said Battalion is hereby desired to discharge him from his Enlistment, on being repaid all the Charges attending it. p. 470.

Enlisted Apprentice

discharged.

Vol. XI.

1777

July 9th, 1777. A Proclamation, issued by the Supreme Executive Council, against the enlistment of indented servants, closes in these words.

Enlistment of servants

prohibited

And whereas, some persons, pretending ignorance, may still invite Servants; these are therefore, strictly to forbid all recruiting Officers in the Continental Service, and all others, from enlisting servants or apprentices within this State, on pain of being prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the Law. Thos. Wharton, jun. President, Att. Timothy Matlack. Secy. p. 243.

The were fears being sold,

Aug. 4th, 1777. The Petition of Isaac Henry, formerly a Slave of Jon. Humphreys, setting forth that he was manumitted in the year by his said Master, and Ann Humphreys, the widow of his deceased master, is about to sell him to a person, whom, he is apprehensive, will immediately carry him out of this State, to places far unknown.

petitions have his

nole, where he may be detained during his life &c. & that by reason of the Courts of justice being shut, he can procure no process whereby his person may be secured till the matter in dispute can be legally determined, &c, May that his person may be secured &c.

Ordered, That Mrs. Ann Humphrey, aforesaid, be requested not to sell the aforesaid negro Harry, until she shall make it clearly appear that she has a right so to do. pp. 683 4.

Vol. XII. p. 688. Address of the Council to the General Assembly of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Possessors of Slaves & slaves to be freed. We think there are many proper subjects of Slavery in your state, unoccupied, & others be lightly; such as all the ranges for pleasure, and convenience only, & plate. The possessors of Slaves and interested Tenants, can also well afford to pay an additional duty. p. 688.

Abolition of Slavery. The same address states, We would also again bring into your view a plan for the gradual abolition of Slavery ... Convinced with that State is in the coming Session of Assembly which shall right destroy the rotation of the rights of mankind, ... We have reduced this plan to the form of a law, which, if acceptable, we shall in a few days communicate to you. p. 688.

Vol. XII

Confiscated Estate of British Merchant. value $ 4000. pp. 313. 441. 701.

Estates. Vol. XIII. p. 207.

Vol. XIV.

April 23rd, 1785. A petition from Louis Hiers & Co. praying to be appointed Registers of all human passengers, &c. read, p. 461.

Vol. XV.

He, free negro, in bondage in Louisiana,

March 26th, 1785. Upon consideration of the report of the Committee to whom was referred the memorial of the acting committee of the Society for promoting the abolition of slavery and the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, relative to the case of a free negro of the name of Hill, who has been taken from this State, and now held in bondage in the Province of Louisiana,

Demanded as a citizen of Penna.

Resolved, that we request the President to represent to application to the Governor of the said Province by letter and demand the said negro as a citizen of Pennsylvania, &c.

p. 33-4.

Pennsylvania Archives.
Vol. I.

First Indian Deed to William Penn, 1682.

Deed of Ins. 1682.

The Indenture, made the 15th day of July, 1682, between Sekquaeson, and 11 other Indian Sachemakers, of the one pte, and William Penn, Chief Proprietor of the Province of Pennsylvania of the other pte, Witnesseth that for the Consideration of the sums, parcelmentioned and expressed, (that is to say) 350 fathoms of Wampam, 20 White blankets, 20 fathoms of Strand waters, 20 fathoms of Duffels, 20 Kettles, 1 piece large, 20 Coats, 20 Coates, 40 Shirts, 20 pairs of Stockings, 20 Axes, 40 Hoes, 2 Barrells of Powder, 200 Pieces of Lead, 200 Knives, 200 Small Glasses, 12 pairs of Shoes, 40 Copper Boxes, 40 Brass Jaws, 2 small Barrells

of Gun, 10 pounds of Powder, 10 Bullets, 100 lbs. Lead Lead, 100 Bullets, 2 handfulls of gun flints, 2 handfulls of worms, 40 lbs. Shot, 10 Bundles of Pipes, 10 in all Sorts, 2 Drawing Knives, 4 rolls of Tobacco, 2 anchors of Rumme, 2 anchors of Cider, 2 barrels of Beer - 300 Guilders, the said Commodities the Indians acknowledge themselves fully satisfyed, Contented & paid, and do fully, clearly & absolutely Grant, bargayne, sell & deliver unto the said Wm. Penn, his Heirs & Assignes forever, All that tract of land &c. &c. lyeing betwixt the Mountains & the first land in Penna. bought by Wm. Penn. of the Indians. pp. 46 7.

Further purchases of land by William Penn. pp. 62, 63 64. 65. 6. 7, 88, 91, 92, 95. 116, 124, 183.

Lt. Wm. Kelly to Wm. Penn.

Lt. William Kelly to Wm. Penn. 1682. dated London, 14 mo. 1682.

Loved Friend: My opinion is that not only Pensilvania but all a habitable Land upon the face of ye Earth, will within ye next 1500 years be as fully Peopled as England is now; that is to say That there will be a head for every 4 acres of land, whereas in Ireland there are about 10 acres to every head, the medium whereof is 7. &c. &c. p. 49.

1730. Edmd. Cartlidge, Jonah Davenport & Henry Baily, licensed Indian traders with the Indians, represent to Gov. Gordon, that several ill traders, such as had been ye. Gov's servants & other idle rogues sent up for trade, have by rum so debauched the Indians & have gotten possession of the skins & furs, which the Indians &c.

indebted to the regular traders, insomuch that the Indians were in debt to them at about 2000 Pounds worth of peltry, by which fact the traders can not carry on their business with the merchants, pray that measures may be taken for their relief.

Indians

"

Gov. Gordon writes to the Indians on Allegheny in 1730 as follows, "The traders complain that you drink you give away all the fruits of your Labours, and are left more poor as if you had not hunted at all, or the reason they gold all those that deal with you to carry away Rum to the Woods, more than may serve for a small dram to themselves - some to give you at 3 Year paid when you come home with your Skins from Hunting. pp. 261-2.

traders,

only a small dram after hunting,

Samuel Blunston to Robert Charles, dated Oct. 3rd, 1731.

A few days ago, about 21 of 9 mo. 3 Indian Nations, returning this way from the Inward, brought with them three Negroes and a Mulatto. One of the Negroes being lame with Travailing, they sold to a Conoi Indian for about £26: the rest they took off.

Indians sell lame negro.

P. S. Same Indian, when I was last down, said he should be glad of a Trooper Coat to ride in. We have now just Cause to apprehend him for Breach of Law in Entertaining & detaining a bought Servant belonging to one of our people, and threatens to Shoot any person who shall offer to take away said Servant. p. 240.

trooper coat

servant.

Indians Letter to Gov. Gordon, dated Allegania, 24th,

1733. We have one great Cause of Complaint, which we must humbly beg to be redressed, which is, there is yearly much done on Updat for Leaden Spiritual Liquor, the same is sent us in Kegs nothing but Rum, no Powder, Lead or Clothing, but takes away with him those Skins which the Old Indian traders give, being no Anything wherewith ought to pay in Return for their goods sold to us a no year before. We therefore beg you to send us two firm Traders, one for Otter Creek, the other for us to break in pieces all the Kegs we bought, and by that means the old traders will have their Debts which otherwise never will be paid. Signed by 4 Indians, making their marks, p. 414.

Ref. Rum to Indians, " 30 gal. Rum twice a year.

May 1st. 1738. Indian Letter, begging that only licensed traders be allowed to come among them, and that no trader be allowed to bring more than 30 gals of Rum, twice in the year, no more, for by that means we shall be capable of paying our Debts, and that every trader may be obliged to bring his Rum in the cabin where he lives and not hide any in the woods &c. &c, p. 425.

Gov. Gordon to Shikellamy, 1733, Tells us, told that our Rum was seized by you, but instead of preserving it whole & untouched, the Indians got to it & drank it up, p. 455.

Indians at Allegania, March, 15. 1737-8, in Council together, "agree that whatever Rum is in our towns shall be broak & spilt and not drunk, and whoever shall bring

Indians upon the fall of the Rum.

any Rum, or any sort of strong Liquor into our Towns, Indian or which may, let it be more or less, it shall be all treated, spill on the Spot the first time, wherever it is brought, and if more it shall be confiscated, so may rest assured that there is no Rum or Strong Liquor brought into our Towns, and to have it for the Space of 4 years from Date. p. 548 7.

Vol. II.

1754. The Germans of Phila. Co. & adjacent Counties, in an Address to Gov. Morris, Nov. 20. 1754, profess their gratitude & loyalty to the Br. Crown, and say that since Sept. 1 Nov. 21. 24. 25, has occasioned them to be suspected of a Secret Conspiracy agt. the King & Government, which they think a very hard thing, as people among other nations are supposed to be disloyal, much less any conspiracy against their Queen King George & Crown, as they, and they under that any man of Reason can think, much less say, that they, for any gain, intend to subject themselves again under Romish Slavery, spoil by a French King. p. 202.

German profess their loyalty.

Geo. Croghan to Gov. Morris, Dec. 23. 1754, says, in reference to the governor's order of giving Rum to the Indians, "I am obliged to give them a Log now & then, as all our people, but that is attended with no Evidence to the Contrary, has noted consequences to ye Indians, as I do till but once a month. p. 218.

Gov. Sharpe to Gov. Morris, Annapolis Dec. 27. 1754, says

Rum.

Conspiracy [illegible] Conspiracy is suspected [illegible] a Catholic, and in league a Catholic. with the French. p. [illegible].

Conrad Weiser to Secy Peters, dated Heidelburg, May 17th, 1755

[illegible] will send with him [illegible] with his [illegible] boys, [illegible] other way but [illegible], with the Gentlemen [illegible] the [illegible] reading. It took them to read & write in English, and to

Education. provide [illegible] of [illegible] pattern, having these [illegible] Indians, which will be as long as it will require time to teach them. p. 315.

Thomas Penn to Gov. Morris, 1755, recommends the use

Ventilators, of ventilators in heated the Palatine [illegible]. p. 70.

Germans Reward for scalps.

Conrad Weiser to Gov. Morris, 1755, writes of the suffering of the Germans on the frontier, and says the people demand a bounty giving them a reward for every Indian which they kill. p. 311.

Gov. Morris to Sir Charles Hardy, Feb. 12, 1756, says "But the

1756. Recruiting officers here, which have taken a good number of men upon a late Order from Gen. Shirley, which has greatly

Levies raised. alarmed the people, and the Assembly have addressed me complaining of it as a grievance, and the [illegible] have no doubt concerning the rights of the Crown & the power [illegible] to impress, yet I could have wished the regiments had been recruited in some other way. p. 572.

Gov. Morris to Gov. Shirley, Phila. 6th Feb. 1756, ~~says~~ sends him an address from the Assembly, complaining of the enlistment of

servants, and urges him to put a stop to it. p. 576.

100 & 101 [illegible] Indian Scalps are brought to the [illegible] to give a bounty of Indian Scalps. Reward for Indian Scalp. from 100 to 150 pieces of Eight each. p. 607.

Gazoon. Indians on the Gazoon. p. 724.

Vol. IV.

R. Catholics petition to [illegible] 1767. Roman Catholics of Northampton Co. Pa. petition Gov. Penn to grant them a license to act as [illegible] in the [illegible] of building a church. p. 271.

Lutherans of same Co. similar petition. p. 280

Grant under Indian. [illegible] Mathew Hulin, a runaway indentured servant of Richard Brown, in being taken & brought home, declared that he had murdered two friendly Indians, and is put in Bedford Co. Jail. 430 - 434.

Vol. VII.

Council to Assembly. Nov. 9th. 1778.

1778 Law for abolition of slavery. The late Assembly was furnished with heads of a bill for manumitting infant negroes, born of slaves, by which the [illegible] would be obtained, in a [illegible] way. It is not proposed that the present slaves, or their most of whom are [illegible] should be used that way, but all imputation must be [illegible] if the idea be adopted. This or some better scheme would lead to abrogate

slavery, the oppression of America first among us, and we paid some more happy for the attempt than the present, is the number of such unhappy strangers, even now in town, who have been reduced by the practice or plunder of our late invaders. To direct me the State of Slaves you will equally serve the cause of humanity & policy, & offer, & bind me of the most proper & best terms of Gratitude for this great deliverance of us & our posterity from Thraldom. You will also set your character for public & benevolence in a true point of view to all Europe, who are astonished to see a people zealous for liberty, holding negroes in Bondage. p. 79.

Vol. VIII.

Navy Board to Pres. Reed, 1780.

Navy Board, Mdl. Dist's. Phila, June 21st, 1780.

1780 — 5 negroes at auction. — The honorable the Commissioners of the Admiralty have directed the board to sell by public auction five Negro Slaves, belonging to the continental vessel Ship Fort-Florida. We have therefore to request your excellency will not prevent, but authorize the auctioneer on that purpose.

We are your excellency's most obedient servants,
William Winder, James Read.

p. 346.

Gradual Abolition II. — 2 Slaves under 28, not entered.

Navy Office, Philadelphia, March, 1781.

Sir, I am at a loss to know how the act for the gradual Abolition of Slavery, (passed March 1st, 1780,) is to be construed with respect to Slaves, or servants under the age of 28 years, and omitted to be entered, whether they are to be considered as immediately Free, or as Servants, untill they attain

the Age of 28 years. .... The bearer has two children thus circumstanced, i.e. under the Age of 28 years & not entred. He is known to have Certificates wherein I think he ought to be Justified to the Lords by the Lords should be clearly positively expressed. Therefore, I would wish to guard against Impropriety. p.730.

Vol. IX.

1781, The Supreme Executive Council are impowered to reserve forfeited Estates so much of the Forfeited Estates yet unsold & unappropriated as to them shall appear necessary in order to create a certain fund for the maintenance of the Provost, Vice Provost, Master & assistants and to extend & improve the Courtesies school of the University provided that the yearly income of such Estates so reserved & appropriated to the use of the University do not exceed 1500 pounds computing wheat at 10 Shillings per bushell. p.385.

Return of Servants by R. R. Livingston, 1781.

Hans o M. R. Livingston, Secy of the Ord. for foreign Affairs. Philadelphia, 1781, Dec. 12th 1781.

Negro Man Hans, Negro Woman Hannah, in the service of Mr.

Hannah, Cato, George, Judith, Nancy, Bruce.
One white Man servant, namely, Patrick Lemon.

p.465.

Vol. X.

Res. John Lechmere & Chief Justice & other Judges, 1755, recommends Schools, in the several Counties, Attendance at place Schools.

of public worship, Pensions for Ministers of the Gospel, and Observance of the Sabbath. p. 524.

Vol. XI.

Quakers in 1788, petition Franklin to have Slavery abolished. p. 341.

U. S. Senate, Aug. 7th, 1786.

Resolved, That the Secy for foreign affairs cause to be made out separate lists of the numbers, names and owners of the negroes belonging to the Citizens of each State, and carried away by the British in contravention of the late Treaty of Peace and that he transmit the said lists to the Executives of the States to which they respectively belong.

71 Negroes carried away by the British, 1783.

Signed Charles Thomson. Secy.

Such a list accompanies the foregoing document, giving full description of them. They were 71 in number, and from different parts, many of them had been slaves to prominent persons in Phila. p. 95.

Watson's Annals.

Vol. I.

Penn's desire to return to his colony in 1686, is thus expressed.

Wm. Penn.

"Unkindly used as I am, no poor slave in Pinkey more earnestly desires deliverance than I do to be with you."

poor Slave in Pinkey.

[At this date, the idea of slavery was not associated with negroes, but with white Christians imported in Pinkey

[illegible] Indian slavery was then considered, although it had existed in Barbados for 40 years, and in Virginia [illegible] for [illegible], in spite of the mixed condition of the negro. It was only when white people were in slavery that it was a type of misery, as we have seen p. [illegible] (New York.) Oroonoko, was not held up for our sympathy because he was a slave for he is openly made to talk without any sense of blame as a slave leaves himself. The sympathy is claimed for him because he is a royal slave.)

The Nation, March 23rd. 1876.

[illegible] Poverty and Pauperism, [illegible] Laws and Practice in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and New York, 1875.

We believe the especial reason of these abuses & excesses to lie in what in many respects has constituted our strength, the extreme extension of localization of administration [illegible] in local government. We have inherited the system of [illegible] a parish management of the poor from at least as far back as Henry 8th's reign. The system was much changed and somewhat centralized in England by the Poor-Law reforms of 1834; but still in rate counties the extreme and local method administration of all matters connected with pauperism & petty criminality, in the U.S. such county is expected to provide for its own poor, its defective, unfortunates and its petty criminals. p. [illegible]

Poor Law system of New York is as [illegible]

Extract [illegible] "Old Philadelphia" by Mrs. Rebecca Harding Davis.

Old Phila.

"It is a curious reflection, in our practical age, that in those days when a merchant failed his house was darkened, his family went into mourning. There was some comfort, perhaps, between Phila. and the New England villages where he was the sitter, which we still get in a single phrase: "Poor fellow! he's a doctor when he's down." Franklin, who had started life as a printer in Philadelphia, also put into his "Memoirs" that the mystery of the craft was what then the trade, because such mystery of trading was a lawyer to the printer & the country." p. 210.

Doctor in Phila.

Labor in Europe and America; A special study of the labor wages, the cost of necessities, and the condition of the working classes, in Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, and other countries of Europe, also in the U.S. & Canada. By Edward Young, Ph. D. - Phila. 1875.

"From the earliest times of which there exists any authentic record, the performance of the labor necessary to sustain life has been an occasion of obstruction & struggle in human society... The simple wish, "Give me, in the specific law, to use the bodily powers of another person as a means of minister to my own ease or pleasure, is doubtless the foundation of slavery and as old as human nature." p. 1.

Origin of slavery.

Edw. Young – Labor in Europe & America. –

Roman Operarii.

The Romans used the labor of operarii, persons who sold their services for a stipulated time, in payment of debt. Tacitus. p. 50.

It was the misfortune of the English villein, that in lieu of his personal enfranchisement, he relinquished his hold upon the soil to which he and his ancestors had been attached. ... There is evidence gradually disappeared here from age, not only the class of free agricultural laborers and that of artificers and tradesmen in towns, but a class of mendicants & thieves, whose number became formidable. ... The statute book also mentions this class in 1349, when it was enacted that because many vagabonds refuse to labor, giving themselves to idleness & vice, and complaints to their other admonitions, none, upon pain of imprisonment, shall give anything to such as may labor. p. 115.

villeins released became pauper & thieves.

Crimes increased them in 1349.

The Inclosures of the 16th Century.

Not to notice these would be to leave out of view the principal cause of that increase of pauperism, vagrancy & crime which characterized that age.

Inclosures.

In England & Prussia alike, the change in the system of land tenure was accompanied by a change in the mode of cultivation. ... The change from cultivation in common, by each peasant community, to the system of separate holdings. ... The word which corresponds to this change is "Inclosure". The great "inclosing movement" in the

16th century," says Meitzen, "is usually described, as if it had merely had for its object to turn arable land into pasturage. ... It was a joint effort on the part of the Lords of the manor to win back from the mesne lands pertaining to the community of the township. That this object was necessary to any improvements in agriculture is undeniable. Even the serfless community had to pass through this stage. No advanced agriculture could do without a common arable and of the township, consisting in some cases of small parcels intermixed with those of the commoners, must have rendered the future common cultivation impossible, and the peasant holders and copyholders were compelled to part with their land on any terms. That in less favorable cases the lords of the manor did not look on idly while the lands of their tenants, but interpreted the customs of their respective manors in the sense that suited them best and that instead of an equitable apportionment of land between the two classes, the result was a general consolidation of tenants' land with demesne land, & the creation of large inclosed farms, with the consequent wholesale destruction of agricultural communities or townships, is well known to every reader of history. ....

The lords consolidated the tenants' lands.

England, France & Germany in this respect.

These, next to Ireland, England, France, & Germany, offer their political life from a similar agricultural base. In each of them the great conflict between immunity and community, between demesne land and tenant land, between the manor and the peasant, has had its counterpart. In England the manor won; the peasant lost. In France the peasant won; the manor lost. In Germany

the game has been drawn, and the stakes have been divided. 128

Enclosure legalized.

One of these social encroachments upon the customary rights of the peasantry, in England, was the legalization of the claim of the Lords of the Manor to enclose for their own use a portion of the enclosed pasture land. p. 124.

Once 200 people, now 2 or 3 shepherds.

"Nasse says, in the reign of Henry 7th, began the complaints, subsequently so numerous of the decreasing number of the small tabled cultivators. One cause of 1488 on this subject, the second act 4th against enclosing towns, &c. Inclosing places of Hayes, &c. with that "Plane house of village of the kingdom is tabled, the arable land belonging to them is inclosed and converted into pasturage, and this was the cause all this, is therefore, generally prevalent. There, formerly, 200 men supported themselves by honest labor, are now to be seen only 2 or 3 shepherds." p. 124.

Abbots lands, to landlords, under minister,

"Nasse & good reason to believe that the evils so generally complained of were materially aggravated by the confiscation of the abbey lands in the latter years of the reign of Henry 8th. This measure might have yielded great advantage to the nation and the immense domains of the church, comprising some one sixth to one half of the kingdom, were not disposed of as the best interests of the people; but, under the selfish and unnatural notions of Henry, they were transferred from the ecclesiastical corporations to landlords, who as a rule, were no more zealous than the abbots had been, without giving more attention to the cultivation of their estates. p. 125.

Edw. Young Labor in Europe & America.

Peasant farmers become tenants.

Now, to be sure the subject of "the petite culture" is time-worn & hackneyed in parts of Europe, and especially in Switzerland & France, & it may be said that the decay of peasant farmers was merely one of the causes of that enormous increase of pauperism and mendicancy complained of. About the middle of the 16th century popular discontent became intense. ... Bishop Latimer in his famous sermon of the plough, preached before the Court of Edward 6th, March 8th, 1549, complains that where formerly there were dwellings & inhabitants, now there are only "the shepherd & his dog," & reproaches the nobles as "imposers, graspers and engrossers," who made tenantless sheep of the English commons. "In enclosures," says Bernard Gilpin, "I have seen expulsions of their dwellings, considering no crime but may be said to drive them out & then cast them out of their homes like vermin. Thousands in England now lay their door to door, who formerly held honest houses. Never were there so many gentlemen and so little gentleness." Jeremy, Bishop of Rochester, in 1561, in a petition to the King complains that "in some there are only 10 people where formerly there were 40 or 50."

Bp. Latimer.

Shepherd & dog.

Bernard Gilpin.

Houses reduced to turnpike keepers.

p. 127.

Edward 6th, or the Lord Protector, in his boyhood, appointed a commission for redress of grievances, caused by enclosures. "Kind & merciful" as he was, these, we had have the commission thus to do, "Cities." "A hundred and fifty years ago many towns dwelt, there are now scarcely 1,000." "Specific & principal grievances, — ruin of villages, conversion of arable land into pasture, great multitude of sheep, amalgamation of farms, & the failure of hospitality on account of the distribution of corn

Specific grievances.

Ch. Young Labor in Europe & America.

teries. p. 127.

Insurrection of 1549.

The formidable peasant insurrection of 1549, ~~was~~ in the eastern counties, had for its principal object, the removal of enclosures. p. 128. A compendious, or brief examination of certain ordinary complaints &c, by W. S. gentleman of London, 1585, calls for the enclosures as the crying evil of the times. He has witnessed in a circuit of less than 6 English miles, in the last year, that more 60 persons had gained their living, the cattle of one now occupying. p. 128

[This pamphlet has been ascribed to William Shakespeare, & the reprint of it in ~~1 Shak~~ 1751, bears his name.]

"But the Evolution", continues Nasse, "which began in the beginning of the 17th century, has continued to our times. Even, save Coke, the third estate England consisted of copyhold, copyhold, but the connection which then existed between enclosures and peasant eviction, has gradually become less close. But among the many circumstances, which have caused the complete disappearance of the medieval peasant class, the most important was the dissolution of the old communities in land. p. 129 In France, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, the greater part of Europe, the people who cultivate the soil, for the most part own it. In England, the agricultural laborer does not own the travel he dwells on. "In Norfolk", says Mr. Caswell, (Economic Position of the British Laborer. p. 6.) cheers this monotonous career. The life of constant labor brings them no other prospect than that when their strength is exhausted, they must crave as supplicant mendicants, a pittance from parish relief....

Ind. medieval property. Eng.

Mr. Caswell, English laborer.

Edw. Young Labor in Europe & America. –

One out of every 20 in England has to be supported by it.

English & Irish labor.

Whatever may be said of other classes of the English people, no one can compare the agricultural laborer of G. B. with the peasant proprietor of France or Belgium. p. 130.

Statement showing the total Immigration into the U. S. from Great Britain & Ireland during the 54½ yrs. ended December. 31. 1874.

Periods.	England, Wales Isle of Man & Channel Islands	Scotland.	Ireland.	Great Britain.*	Total.
1820 to 1830, inclusive.	16.007	3.180	27.106	35.534	81.827.
1831 " 1840 "	7.796	2.667	29.188	243.540	283.191.
1841 " 1850 "	38.353	3.712	162.382	748.366	1.047.763.
1851 " 1860 "	53.447	38.331	748.740	297.575	1.388.093.
1861 " 1870 "	218.027	36.733	495.769	356.247	1.106.976.
Calendar year, 1871.	62.525	12.135	61.463	7.814	148.937
" " 1872	73.579	14.565	69.761		157.905
" " 1873	70.499	13.008	75.848		159.355
" " 1874	48.969	8.765	47.688		106.422.
Aggregate	779.197	133.096	1.718.095	1.789.079	4.419.469.

*Intermediate col. dated; supposed to shew from England.

p. 241.

Emigration from France.

Few of the skilled workmen of France make their home among us. The well known attachment of the French to their native land, together with other causes, renders the

French emigration to U. S. small.

emigration somewhat country quite insignificant in comparison with that of other Europeans. In the heterogeneous population of this country, the French element is comparatively small, there being but 115,140 natives of France in the whole country in 1870, and while, since 1820, Germany has sent us nearly 2,800,000, and the Br. Isles, over 1,000,000, the direct increment to our population from France, up to June 30th, 1874, has been but 250,742. During each of the last five secl. years, the migration into the U. S. from that country has been as follows: 1870, 4007; 1871, 3,135; 1872, 9,317; 1873, 14,947; 1874, 9,693. Total in 5 years, 40,902, an average of only 8,180 a year. From so sparsely settled a country as Norway, during the same period, the emigration to this country amounted to 60,642, a yearly average of 12,128. p. 434.

N. O. Picayune, May [illegible] 1876.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

TAINE'S ANCIENT REGIME.

THE ANCIENT REGIME. By HIPPOLYTE ADOLPHE TAINE. Translated by JOHN DURAND. 12mo. pp. [illegible]. Henry Holt & Co.

Under the term Ancient Régime, the author of this work comprehends the social, political, and moral condition of France during the eighteenth century, which culminated in the Revolution at its close. M. Taine belongs to the school of history which traces the character of a nation to antecedent influences in its surrounding circumstances. Thus, the Revolution of '89 was not an isolated event, but the natural growth of previous ages. The development of the French monarchy reached its crisis soon after the middle of the century, and prepared the way for the new era which was inaugurated [illegible] in blood.

In 1789, the clergy, the nobles, and the king, held the most prominent position in the state. During a succession of ages, they had gradually constructed the three principal foundations of modern society. The most ancient of these was the work of the clergy. In the first four centuries, they constituted religion and the Church. They preached the spirit of the beatitudes to a world of barbarians, whom they gathered into a society governed by laws and discipline. Down to the middle of the thirteenth century, they furnished the ideal element in a period of corruption and violence. Through their legends of the saints, through their cathedrals and statues, they rendered visible the Kingdom of God, "like a magnificent golden pavilion at the end of a miry morass." The popes for two hundred years were the dictators of Europe. They organized crusades, dethroned monarchs, and distributed kingdoms. The clergy held in their grasp a third of the territory, one-half of the revenue, and two-thirds of the capital of Europe. Military service gave rise to a permanent order of nobles. Each petty chieftain stands firmly on his domain. He no longer keeps it in trust, but as a property. It is his own manor, his own village, his own earldom. Each canton possesses its armed men, capable of resisting nomadic invasion. The community is no longer a prey to strangers. Every taste is subordinate to military service, and thanks to the armed chieftains, and their vassals, the peasant enjoys protection. He ventures to plow and sow and to rely upon his crops. He is no longer to be slaughtered, or led captive with his family. In case of danger he finds an asylum in the circle of palisades at the base of the fortress. A contract is thus established between the lord and the cultivators. They do his work, and retain a portion of the products. But he soon takes more than his due. If he assigns them a plot of ground, or merely permits them to encamp on it, it is on conditions prescribed by himself. They are to become his serfs, his mortmains, for the sake of the security which he gave. The king, who was chief of the nobles, consummated their work, and laid the third foundation of France. His rule gradually encroaches on the province of the nobles. They become simply his officials or his courtiers. He nominates the dignitaries of the Church. The States-General are not convoked. The provincial assemblies continue to do nothing but apportion the taxes. The parliaments are exiled when they risk a remonstrance. He is absolute master, and his ancient rivals have few of their prerogatives left, in exchange for which they enjoy the royal favor and marks of preference. Such were the foundations of society under the ancien régime which was the precursor of the Revolution.

The habits of social life at this period may be typified by a military staff on furlough around a commander-in-chief who gives fashionable entertainments. The court is the substitute and shadow of the feudal military service. In the early times the nobles served the kings with their own hands. One provided for his house, another brought a dish to his table, another disrobed him at night, and another looked after his falcons and horses. Still later, they formed an armed escort for him, and a retinue of ever-ready swordsmen. Pompous parade afterward took the place of efficient service. The nobles were for ornament and not for use, acting along with the king who was himself an actor. The dramatic display was complete. Versailles, with its population of 80,000 souls, was simply a royal residence, occupied with the life of a single man. Here and there are inns, stalls, taverns, hovels for laborers and drudges, for worn-out soldiers and servile menials, the necessary appendages of the most magnificent state. But the rest consisted of sumptuous hotels and edifices, sculptured façades, cornices and balustrades, monumental stairways and seigniorial architecture, disposed around the vast and grandiose place which was the central point of the pageant. Here were the fixed abodes of the noblest families. The hotels and buildings at Versailles devoted to the private service of the king and his attendants numbered by hundreds. No human existence since that of the Cæsars has so spread itself out in the sunshine. The king's guards consisted of over 9,000 men, costing annually more than 7,500,000 livres ($1,500,000). Four companies of the French guard, and two of the Swiss guard paraded every day in the court of the ministers. In the drives of the king to Paris or Fontainebleau, four trumpeters in front and four behind, with the Swiss guards on the one side and the French guards on the other, formed a line as far as the eye could reach. The officers of the various corps, the trumpeters and the musicians, covered with gold and silver lace, were dazzling to look at; the kettle-drum suspended at the saddle bow, loaded with gold and silver ornaments, was a sight to behold; the negro cymbal-player resembled the sultan of a fairy tale. Alongside of the carriage were the body-guards, with sword and carbine, wearing red breeches, high black boots, and blue coats with white embroidery. There were 1,200 in all, every one a gentleman, selected from the nobles according to size. The king's stables contained nearly 2,000 horses, with 1,500 men, whose liveries cost 540,000 francs ($108,000) a year. Horses to the amount of 250,000 francs were purchased yearly, and there were stock stables in Limousin and in Normandy to draw on for supplies. The whole cost of the stables in 1775 was 4,600,000 francs, and in 1787 had reached the sum of 6,200,000 francs.

The table service was on a similar scale of luxury. The wine-merchant furnished wine to the amount of 3,000,000 francs a year, and the purveyor game, meat, and fish, at a cost of 1,000,000 livres. The personal appointments of the king were of the daintiest character. Two principal dignitaries presided over his sleeping apartment, and each had under him about a hundred subordinates. Some of them comb the king's hair and dry him after a bath, others fold and put on his cravat, others fetch his easy chair, while others watch the pet grayhounds in his room. The drawing-rooms of the later French monarchs have often been described. The costume

was rigid. There were no black coats. The men appeared in powdered hair, with lace cravats and ruffles, with buckles and knots, in silk coats and vests "of the hue of the fallen leaves, or of a delicate rose tint, or of celestial blue, embellished with gold braid and embroidery." The dress of the ladies was covered with pearls, gold, silver, jewels, spangles, flowers and fruits, with their artificial blossoms, gooseberries, cherries, and strawberries, forming a gigantic animated bouquet of insupportable brilliancy. The company was of the most select character. They were all persons of distinguished accomplishments, gifted with every grace that birth, education, fortune, and leisure could bestow. There was not a toilet, a tone of the voice, nor an expression in language, that was not a masterpiece of wordly culture.

The habits of the aristocracy were equally extravagant. The customs of the court were copied both by the nobles and ecclesiastics. The bishops and abbés were all men of the world. The episcopal palace became a fashionable country-house. France, in fact, was but one vast drawing-room. Domestic society was merged in the whirl of fashionable life. The wife received more attention from every other man than her husband. The married couple were almost strangers to each other. They each had their own apartments, servants, equipage, receptions, and social circle, maintaining toward each other the footing of polite strangers. The husband had a government of his own; his private command, his private regiment, his post at court, which kept him absent from home; only in his declining years his wife consented to follow him into garrison, or into the provinces. Towards the middle of the century the husband and wife lodged under the same roof, and that is all. They were never at home in private; they are never seen in the same carriage; they are never met in the same house, nor are they ever together in public. Profound sentiment would have been deemed odd and ridiculous, and would have been as great a bore as an earnest "aside" in the general current of light conversation. Each had a duty to all. For a couple to entertain each other was isolation. No right of tête-a-tête existed in company. It was hardly allowed for a few days even to lovers. "If morals were the loser," said a writer of the day, "society was infinitely the gainer; having got rid of the dullness caused by the husband's presence, the freedom was extreme; the coquetry both of men and women kept up social vivacity and daily provided piquant adventures." The causes which disintegrated wedlock also disintegrated the family. In accordance with the aristocratic traditions, a respectful distance was kept up between parents and children. The son says "Monsieur" to his father, the daughter comes respectfully to kiss her mother's hand at the toilet. A caress is rare, and is counted a favor. Children generally, when with their parents, were silent. They exercised toward them a timid deference, but little love. Talleyrand says that he had never slept under the same roof with his father and mother. The girls were placed in convents, giving greater freedom to their parents, by relieving them from care. Little Félicité de Saint-Aubin sees her parents only on their waking up or at meal times. Up to seven years of age the child passes her time with chambermaids, who teach her only a little catechism and an infinite number of ghost stories. Even in the last year of the ancient régime, the little boys have their hair powdered, a pomatumed chignon, ringlets, and curls; they wear a sword, the chapeau under the arm, a frill, and a coat with gilded cuffs. The girl of six years is bound up in a whalebone waist; her large hoop petticoat supports a skirt covered with wreaths; she wears on her head a curious framework of false curls, puffs, and knots, fastened with pins and crowned with plumes. Rouge is often put on her face.

M. Taine cordially acknowledges the charm of French society during this period. In no age had social art rendered life so agreeable. Paris was the school-house of Europe. It gave lessons in civility to the youth of Russia, Germany, and England. Lord Chesterfield never tires of urging his son to frequent those drawing-rooms, which will remove "his Cambridge rust." "Nothing is comparable," says Voltaire, "to the genial life one leads there in the bosom of the arts and of a calm and refined voluptuousness; strangers and monarchs have preferred this enchanting repose to their own countries and thrones. The heart there softens, melts away like aromatics slowly dissolving in moderate heat, evaporating in delightful perfumes." Gustavus III., when beaten by the Russians, declares that "he will pass his last days in Paris in a house on the boulevards." An evening entertainment brought people two hundred leagues away. Some friends of the Prince de Ligne "leave Brussels after breakfast, reach the opera in Paris just in time to see the curtain rise, and after the spectacle is over, return immediately to Brussels, traveling all night." "Of this delight," says the author, "so eagerly sought, we have only imperfect copies, and we are obliged to revive it intellectually. It consists in the first place, in the pleasure of living with perfectly polite people; there is no enjoyment more subtle, more lasting, more inexhaustible. The self-love of man being infinite, intelligent people are always able to produce some refinement of attention to gratify it." "Man is still the greatest source of happiness or of misery to man, and in those days the overflowing fountain brought to him sweetness instead of bitterness. Not only was it essential not to offend, but it was essential to please; one was expected to lose sight of oneself in others, to be always cordial and good-humored, to keep one's own vexations and grievances in one's own breast, to spare others melancholy ideas and to supply them with cheerful ideas."

The condition of the mass of the people prior to the Revolution presented a glaring contrast to the luxury and pleasures which prevailed in the aristocratic classes, and affords a fertile theme for the descriptive powers of the author. In the year 1715 more than one-third of the population, six millions of souls, is supposed to have perished with hunger and misery. The peasants, as described by La Bruyère about twenty-five years before, lived in the most abject destitution. They were deprived of the bread which they had sown and harvested. Their food was of the coarsest kind, and scanty and insufficient in quantity. In Normandy the people lived on the grass of the field. In many places, they were without beds or furniture. Famines were of frequent occurrence. Bread-riots were numerous and terrible. Many farms remained uncultivated, and many indeed were totally deserted. One quarter of the soil was absolutely lying waste. Hundreds of acres of moor and heath formed extensive deserts. A vast portion of the soil, thus abandoned by the plow and the spade, ceased to furnish food to man, while the rest, poorly cultivated, scarcely provided the simplest necessaries of life. The wretched pittance obtained from labor was subject to the most rapacious taxation. The intellectual condition of the laborer was hardly superior to that of the ox or the ass that was

the companion of his toil. Mendicity abounded. The principal highways were infested with vagabonds and vagrants.

In conclusion, M. Taine represents the ancient régime as one long suicide which was necessarily doomed to a fatal issue. The privileged classes brought about their own destruction, no less by their merits than their faults. As founders of society, they had been entitled to their advantages through their services, but they preserved their rank without fulfilling their duties. Their position in the Government became a sinecure, and their privileges were turned into abuses. The king, who had created France by devoting himself to her as if his own property, ended by sacrificing her interests to his own pleasures. The public purse was his private purse. The State was governed with an arbitrariness and prodigality that would not be excused in the management of a personal domain. The ruling powers excelled in good breeding, in the gift of graceful conversation, in the art of converting life into a brilliant and ingenious festivity, regarding the world as a drawing-room of refined idlers, in which nothing was required but good temper and wit. The philosophy of the eighteenth century was ambitious to recast the institutions of society according to the principles of reason, and applying mathematical methods to politics and morals, brought forth a monstrous progeny of radical and destructive doctrine. Thus at the opening of the States-General, the course of ideas was irrevocably fixed. The future was to take the shape which was foredoomed by its antecedents in the generations of the past.

In many respects this work may be regarded as the most thoughtful and profound of all the productions of the author. It rarely indulges the love of paradox and rhapsody which is one of his weaknesses, and if it is no less brilliant than the essays in which the genius of poetry is combined with the spirit of philosophy, its reasoning is more temperate and cautious in its movement, and its conclusions are made to rest on a more solid basis. The volume is evidently the fruit of extensive research. M. Taine has become master of the statistical details which relate to the subject. His array of facts and figures in support of his theories is of formidable dimensions, and could only have been the fruit of faithful study. A large space in the volume is devoted to estimates and numerical results which are given with a minuteness and precision that might satisfy the demands of the most pedantic Gradgrind. Still his mathematics do not impair the animation, or picturesque richness of his style. The pages of this work abound with the vigorous descriptions that form a fascinating element in his general writings. In spite of his keen, and often masterly criticism, his principal charm is in his historical portraitures, which are here employed, with admirable effect, in clothing the traditions of the French monarchy with the colors of life. Mr. Durand has shown his usual skill in the translation, and with the exception of an occasional word or phrase, which may suggest a query, it will be pronounced excellent.

The Prince of Lippe-Detmold probably thinks he lives in the sixteenth century. One of his favorite stags has escaped, and amuses itself wounding the citizens, some of whom have been badly hurt. His Serene Highness has, however, issued an order forbidding any one killing the dangerous brute.

P. Press Sept. 21st 1876

THE AMERICAN BENCH.

Sept 20, 1876

[From the Contemporary Review for September.]

In 1775 Edmund Burke said of our American Colonies: "In no country, perhaps, in the world is the law so general a study. All who read, and most do read, endeavor to obtain some smattering in that science." These words are still true of the United States, and have been so ever since Burke uttered them. No department of knowledge has been so widely cultivated in the States as law; we may also add that none has been cultivated with so much success. The young country has in this field of learning equalled, if not surpassed, her parent. It is not merely that America has produced forensic orators or clever legal tacticians, such as Choate and Wirt and Pinkney and Otis, and many others, living and dead, who might perhaps be named not inappropriately in the same breath with Erskine and Scarlett; she has produced a race of great judges and some scientific jurists, whose fame chiefly rests on the breadth and solidity of their learning. The scientific study of law was pursued in some of the American schools at a time when it was chiefly a matter of ridicule in this country. The United States have never wanted a succession of really learned lawyers. Foreigners may treat the greater part of American native literature as a literature of promise and attempts, rather than of mature and prosperous fulfilment. It may be said, and it is, perhaps, too often said, that their poets and essayists are scarcely equal to the best names of contemporary English literature, and are marked chiefly by imitative excellences. But that "certain condescension on the part of foreigners," over which Mr. Lowell has made merry, is out of the question in regard to legal literature. Very many of the classical works in jurisprudence—the authorities most frequently cited in English courts—are American. Mr. Justice Story's various treatises are as much esteemed and as often referred to here as on the other side of the Atlantic. Duer's work on "Marine Insurance" is still, perhaps, the ablest among a crowd of competitors. Mr. Sedgwick's treatise on the "Measure of Damages" discusses the subject in a higher philosophical region and with wider erudition than is the case with any English work, and it would be difficult to point, in the whole range of legal literature, to works of greater learning than Chancellor Kent's "Commentaries," or Dr. Parson's "Law of Contracts." What works (always excepting those of Austin and Bentham) are characterized by more originality than those of Livingston, who prepared the Criminal Code of Louisiana? What works show greater knowledge of case law than those of Mr. Justice Story? It is a rather surprising circumstance that in a country where law libraries are rare, and, with few exceptions, far from complete, where the oldest reports do not go back much further than a century, where few endowments exist for the purpose of encouraging the scientific study of law, an unfailing succession of eru-

ture works should appear. It is equally surprising that this literature should be marked, even at a time when the memory of the struggle for Independence was still fresh, by a curious veneration for the traditions and decisions of Westminster Hall. "Shut your ports against our common law as you would shut them against the plague," said Bentham to our Colonists; but they did not heed such exhortation. They would not put up with the political institutions of England. Why were they so curiously tenacious in their attachment to the bulk of her laws? It is not merely that the legal literature of America has been marked by great ability; a line of judges, of whom any country might be proud, has never been wanting in the Supreme Court and in the tribunals of some of the New England States. Few of them may have possessed the ripe classical culture of certain English judges; we can recall none with accomplishments like those of Baron Alderson, who delighted to turn off translations or adaptations of Anacreon, or versify favorite morsels of the anthology. None of them have been erudite lawyers in the sense in which Pothier and D'Aguepeau and several other French magistrates were erudite. But a large number of the Chief Justices and Associate Judges have been men of wide legal knowledge, with a marked genius for the study of law. De Tocqueville was struck when he visited the United States with the influence possessed by lawyers. He saw in the circumstance much political significance. He spoke of them as "the most powerful, and perhaps the only, counterpoise to the democratic element." No one can, indeed, help noting the important part played by them in public life. Perhaps a fourth or fifth of the members of Congress have been lawyers. Most of the chief statesmen, Northern and Southern, at one time or other, were lawyers by profession. This is true of almost all the Presidents and Vice Presidents. Now, how comes it to pass that so much of the intellectual life of the country has flowed into this channel? Why is it that the theory and practice of law have been pursued with so much eagerness and success in America? The bias of the American mind to legal investigations and to the legal profession is undoubted. What is the explanation of it?"

The earliest record of a Swiss coming to this country is that of one Conrad Gross, in the year 1660. Newbern, in North Carolina, was early founded by Swiss in honor of the present capital of Switzerland. In 1730 Swiss immigrants founded Purysburg, the first town on the Savannah river, and others settled in the same neighborhood during the next few years following. However, the principal emigration from Switzerland to the United States is confined to the last 40 or 50 years. Among the comparatively recent settlers let us not forget our aged and honored countryman—General Sutter—the pioneer of the gold land, California.

THE CENTURY.

DEVELOPMENT WITHOUT PARALLEL.

LAST DAY OF THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE REPUBLIC —INCREASE IN POPULATION AND AREA—PROGRESS IN AGRICULTURAL AND MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES—INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS—BANKING—SCHOOLS.

The first century of the United States closes today. It has been a century of development without parallel in history. The population has increased from 2,750,000 to 44,675,000. The area has been extended from 800,000 to 3,603,844 square miles. The development of agriculture under the pressure of immigration and the stimulus of mechanical invention has been utterly without precedent. The value of manufactures has advanced from $20,000,000 to $4,200,000,000. Foreign and domestic commerce has taken gigantic strides. The marvelous development of mineral resources has not been the work of a century but of fifty years. There was not a single bank in the colonies in 1776; there are more than 6,000 now. Internal improvements and the common school system have kept pace with immigration. On the threshold of the new century, a review of the national progress is worthy of careful study.

POPULATION.

At the outbreak of the Revolution the Continental Congress ascertained approximately the population of the thirteen colonies, in order that the burdens of the war might not fall too heavily upon any section. The total population was estimated at 2,250,000, exclusive of 500,000 slaves at the South. In 1870 the nation which the representatives of these colonies founded was the fifth of the great empires of the world in respect to population, and it is now undoubtedly the fourth. The Chinese Empire in 1870 had 477,500,000 inhabitants; the British Empire, 174,200,000; the Russian Empire, 83,500,000; the German Empire, 40,200,000; the United States, 38,558,371. The average increase in the aggregate population since 1870 in the 15 States in which a census has been taken is 16 per cent, and at the same rate of increase the total population in 1875 would be 44,675,000, while that of the German Empire according to the recent census is 42,757,812. During 60 years (1800-60) the population of the United States increased 593 per cent; that of England and Wales, 121 per cent, and that of France, 37 per cent. The great factor of the marvelous growth of our population has been immigration. Annexation has contributed very little. The purchase of Louisiana, Florida, California, and New-Mexico brought in fewer than 150,000 inhabitants, and the acquisition of Texas and Oregon merely restored to citizenship those who had emigrated from the United States.

The colonies were founded in a religious age under the best possible conditions for ultimate self-government. Nearly all the early settlers belonged to the industrious middle classes of the Old World. A substantial equality existed among the Puritans in New-England, the Dutch in New-York, the Quakers and Germans in Pennsylvania, the Swedes in New-Jersey and Delaware, the English Roman Catholics in Maryland, the English Churchmen in Virginia, the Nonconformists in North Carolina, and the Huguenots in South Carolina. At the time of the English Revolution of 1688 settlements had been made in all the thirteen colonies except Georgia, and the total population was about 200,000. Growth was slow and unequal, and it was not until 1750 that the population exceeded 1,000,000. During the next twenty years the population of the colonies was doubled, and on the threshold of the Revolution there swept a great current of immigration from Germany and Ireland into Pennsylvania, New-York, and the Carolinas. The first census of the United States was taken in 1790. The result chilled the overwrought enthusiasm of Mr. Jefferson, and he took pains to caution his correspondents at foreign courts against accepting the figures inasmuch as they fell short of what he thought was the truth. The population was 3,929,214, including 757,208 slaves. From 1790 to 1820 about 234,000 immigrants arrived. A great wave of immigration then swept across the Atlantic.

At the outset America was regarded as a refuge for oppressed labor. The immigrants were accustomed to the simplest forms of labor, and were ready to build canals, and subsequently railroads. The development of manufactures in New-England changed the aspect of immigration, and foreigners came to regard the United States as a market for skilled labor. The cheap lands offered under the Homestead bill attracted an immense number of industrious farmers. During 12 years an area greater than that of New-England was occupied and tilled by 275,000 families under the operation of this act. Inter-State migration has been from the first a popular instinct. There was a constant movement from the half settled States to the unsettled territory, and those who were left behind manufactured for those who were

on the frontiers. From 1845 to 1854 there was a great exodus from Ireland and Germany. After the famine of 1846 immigration from Ireland more than doubled, reaching its maximum in 1851. During this period nearly 1,500,000 Irishmen landed in Castle Garden. German immigration reached its highest point in 1854. After the years 1837, 1857, and 1873, there was a most remarkable decline in immigration, a commercial revulsion acting as a wet blanket. The total number of immigrants from 1820 to 1873 was 8,808,141, of whom 2,907,565 were from Ireland, and 2,663,437 from Germany. About 60 per cent (after deducting women and children) were in the prime of life; 46 per cent were trained to various pursuits, and 10 per cent were traders.

Nearly 10,000,000 of our population are foreigners, or the descendants of foreigners. It has been estimated that, if the fusion of elements were complete, of 100 drops of American blood 25 would be Anglo-Saxon, 27 German, 2 Dutch or Scandinavian, 30½ Celtic, 3 Romanic, and 12½ uncertain. The white, red, black, and yellow races are all represented. In 1870 the ratio of the colored to the whole population was 14½ to 100. The rate of increase of the colored race during the decade was far behind that of the whole population. From 1853 to 1874 a small percentage of immigration has come from China. The total number of Chinamen who arrived during that period was 144,328. The total number of Indians in the United States in 1870 was 383,712, of whom 96,366 were on Government reservations. As regards sex, the population of the United States is nearly equally divided. The doctrine of the comparative sterility of the native white population has been quite generally accepted on both sides of the Atlantic, but Dr. Edward Jarvis has recently demonstrated that it is a fallacy based on statistical blunders.

In 1790 one-thirtieth of the population was in cities, and there were only six towns whose population exceeded 8,000. In 1870 one-fifth of the population was municipal, and there were 374 incorporated cities. The growth of some of these cities has been marvelous. In 10 years the population of Jersey City increased 179.7 per cent; of San Francisco, 163.2, and of Chicago, 173.7. During the colonial period the principal occupations were husbandry, lumbering, trading, hunting, and fishing. One-third of the labor of the country was employed in timber-cutting. According to the last census nearly 6,000,000 are engaged in agricultural pursuits, 1,200,000 in trade and transportation, 2,700,000 in manufacturing and mining, and 2,600,000 in professional life; and there are 43,000 clergymen, 40,000 lawyers, 62,000 physicians, 126,822 teachers, 2,000 actors, 5,200 journalists, 1,000,000 laborers, and 975,000 domestic servants. Alexander Hamilton's dream of the diversity of human industry in the New World has come to pass.

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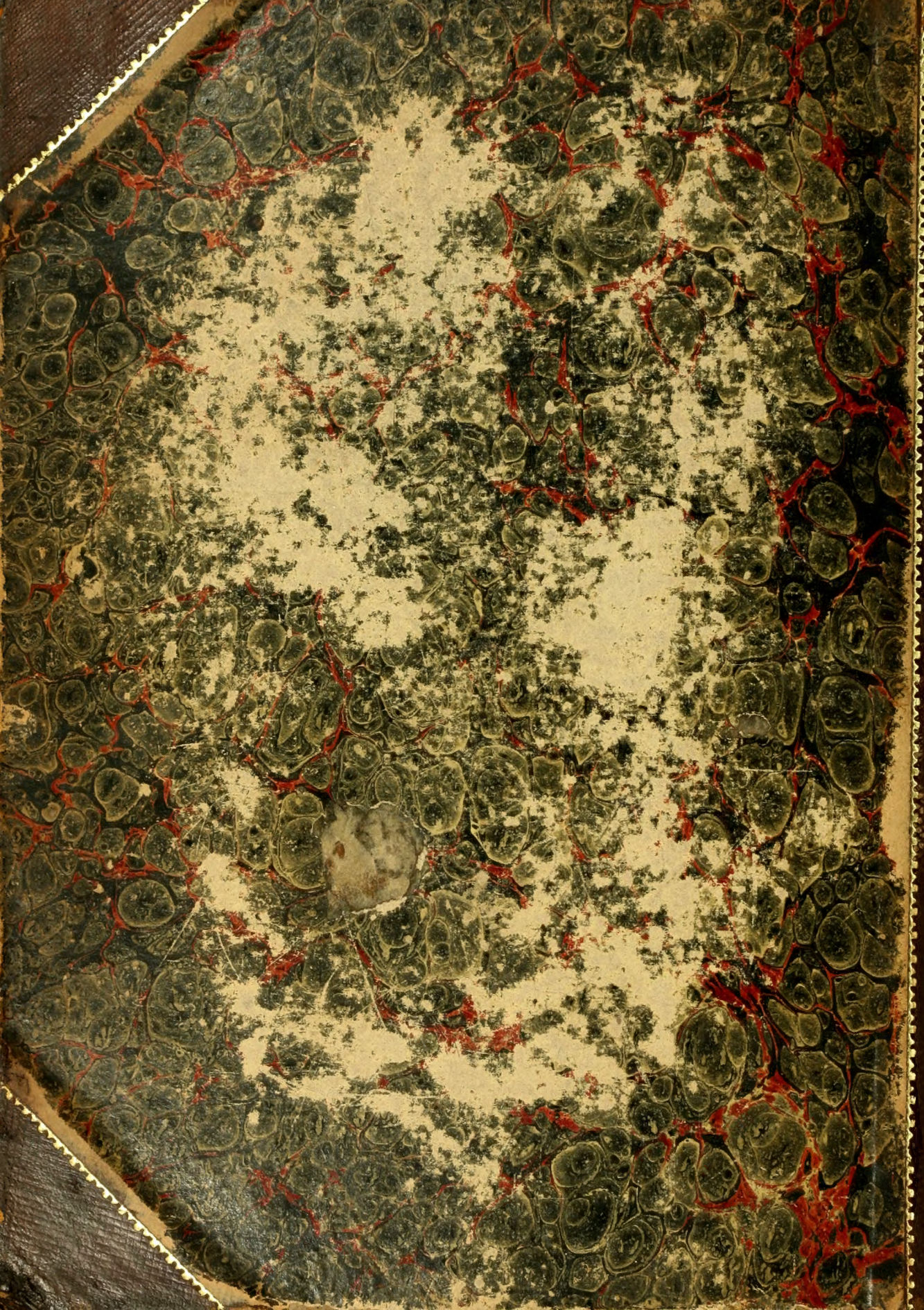
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